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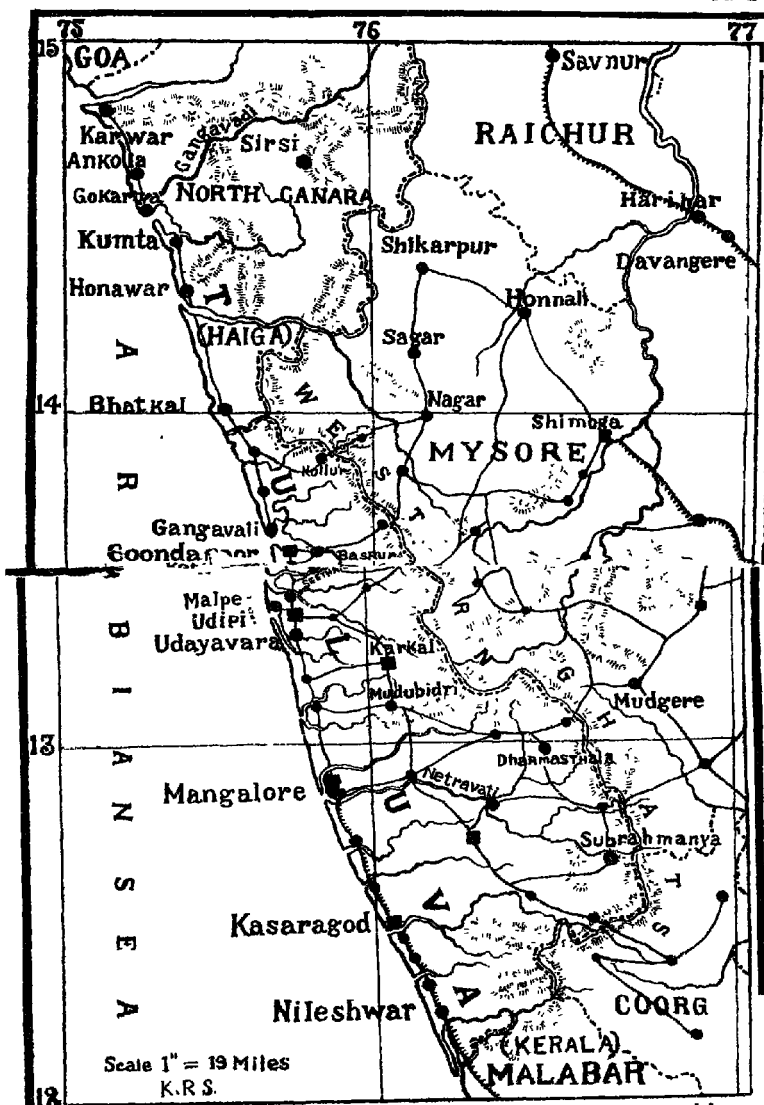
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ANCIENT KARNATAK: ANCIENT TULUVA



Poona Oriental Series No. 53

ANCIENT KARNĀṬAKA

VOL. I

HISTORY OF TULUVA

BY

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To

The beloved memory of my elder Brother

Bhavani Shanker

who inspired and guided me

in this work, but was

snatched away before

its completion

P R E F A C E

In the following pages the history of a province which till now has remained practically unknown, has been brought to light for the first time with the help of all available historical materials. This province of Tuluva, now represented by the South Kanara district of the Madras Presidency and the greater part of the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency, has ever remained an integral part of the Karnāṭaka, with political relations with almost all the royal families that ruled over the southern and western parts of the Peninsula.

The dynasty that ruled over Tuluvaṇādu was never an imperial house; but imperial families alone have not always contributed either to the political or cultural greatness of the country. Royal families of minor states have in a great measure, especially in the Karnāṭaka, helped to preserve our ancient heritage and history. This is the reason why, instead of beginning the ancient history of the Karnāṭaka with the Śātavāhanas and the Mauryas, I have prefaced it with the annals of the Ālupas whose interesting history dates back to the second century A D. and whose district preserved intact the language and culture of the Karnāṭaka when they were threatened with admixture in the other parts of the province. One of the reasons why this ancient dynasty was able to hand down to posterity the culture of the Tulu and the Karnāṭaka people, is because of the fact that its province never suffered from the invasions of the Muhammadans, whose onrush proved so disastrous to the stability of numerous states in the western and southern parts of the country.

The history of my district has been studied from five points of view. In the first chapter, dealing with the Legendary Beginnings, I have attempted to place Tuluva on the background of the legends of the whole of the western part of India. The second and the third chapters deal only with the domestic and foreign relations of the Ālupa rulers, based entirely on their own stone and copper-plate inscriptions as

well as on those of their neighbours the Karnāṭaka and Tamil monarchs. Tuluva tradition as embodied in a work called *Grāmapaddhati*, which is introduced to scholars for the first time, is incorporated in the fourth chapter styled Village Organization. Religion forms the next topic of my study, based again on epigraphs, literature, and Tuluva and non-Tuluva tradition. And, finally, the life of the Tulu people gleaned exclusively from their admirable folk-songs called the *Pādadānas*, brings the work to a close. In the first appendix I have given a tentative rendering into Kannada of the passages found in the Greek Farce, improved and verified since my earlier rendering of the same in 1926 when I had, at his own request, sent Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. R. Shama Sastry, then Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, these passages put into Kannada. A comparative list of the many households of Tuluva, as found in the different versions of the *Grāmapaddhati*, is the second appendix; and the third contains a genealogical account of all the Ālupa kings discovered till now.

Notwithstanding my continual and personal investigations in the various parts of the district, I find that I have made but a beginning in the direction of writing a complete history of the Tuluva people. These pages, therefore, form only a preliminary study of this ancient and hitherto unexplored province. Since sending the Ms. to the press, I have secured through the kind exertion of wellwishers and friends various Mss. which, should there be an occasion in the near future, I shall amply utilize in the next edition of the work. I have deliberately omitted some phases of the history of Tuluva, which will be dealt with in a later dissertation. This work forms the first of a series of five volumes which propose to deal with the history of Ancient Karnāṭaka from earliest times till the downfall of the Western Cālukyas.

I have abstained from giving a bibliography, as I have cited almost all authorities with the necessary details in the footnotes. All the works utilized in my work are available at the Oriental Book Agency, Poona.

My obligations and gratefulness are due to quite a number of persons : Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Deputy Director-General of Archaeology, Simla, who was good enough to ask the Superintendent of Archaeology, Southern Circle, to send me the transcripts of the following unpublished stone inscriptions found in Tuluva—Nos 372 and 419 of 1927-28, 485, 488, 490, 491, 509 and 526 of 1928-29 ; Paṇḍit Venkaṭadāsa Ācārya and Paṇḍit Kannārakuduru Bhaṭṭa Rāmakṛṣṇayya, both of Udipi, who spared no pains either to accompany me in my tours in the district, or to assist me in procuring Mss., or to supply me with all the data I wanted ; Mr. S. L. Kapadi, Librarian of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society who, with his ever-obliging Assistants, made it possible for me to recast completely an earlier version of this work, during the spring of 1934 ; Mr. V. Ganesh Sunder Rao of Udipi and Mr. M. Sunder Row, B.A., L. T., of Mangalore, who have lent me some of their photographs ; my brother Mr. G. N. Saletore, B. A., who copied for me a fine version of the *Grāmapaddhati* hailing from Udipi ; Mr. K. R. Shetty of Udipi, who has drawn an excellent map of Tuluva for me ; my wife who has prepared the index ; Vidyāsudhākara Dr. Har Dutt Sharma who has gone through some of the proofs and offered me his learned advice ; Mr. S. R. Sardesai whose careful execution of the work merits all praise ; and Dr. N. G. Sardesai whose kindness and generosity make it possible for this work to appear in print.

Vijayadaśamī, 1936
198/11, Tilak Road,
Poo , 2.

B. A. S

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ANCIENT KARNĀṬAKA

VOL. I

HISTORY OF TULUVA

ANCIENT KARNĀṬAKA

VOL. I HISTORY OF TULUVA

CHAPTER I

LEGENDARY BEGINNINGS

Summary —Derivation of the word *Tuluva* with the aid of historical and traditional evidence 2. *Tuluva* in the legend of Parasurāma Historical and traditional notices of the story of Parasurāma 3 Examination of the story relating to the alleged creations of Parasurāma 4 The veracity of that part of the above story relating to the Saptā Konkānas examined 5 References to *Tuluva* in the epics and the Purāṇas 6 Claims of *Tuluva* to antiquity based on epigraphs, writings of Tamil authors, and accounts of Greek geographers

1 DERIVATION OF THE WORD TULUVA

Ancient *Tuluva* comprised the whole of South Kanara and a part of North Kanara The misnomer of Canara was applied to the district only in comparatively modern times ¹ *Tuluva*² today is nearly 150 miles in

1. Wilks called *Tuluva* by the name Canara *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, I, p. 8 (1810), I, p. 5 (1869) Read also Buchanan, *A Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar* III. p. 201 Caldwell explains how this name Canara was misapplied to this part of western India *A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, p. 6, n. (1856).

2. Sturrock, *South Canara Manual* I., p. 1

length, about twenty-five miles broad in its narrowest and fifty miles in its widest parts. But according to traditional as well as historical accounts, this province extended far beyond its modern limits in the north. The legendary origin of Mālabar as embodied in the *Keralotpatti* relates that the Tuluva-rājya commenced from Gokarna in the north as far as Perumpula in the south.¹ From the evidence of inscriptions to which we shall advert in the course of this treatise, it will be seen that the northern limits of Tuḷuva as given in the legendary accounts of Kerala, are by no means unreliable. In fact, so late as the sixteenth century A.D., the people associated the land south of Mirjān, situated on an islet south of Aṅkola, on the Gangavādi river, with Tuluva.² But the name Tuḷuva came gradually to be restricted to a smaller area till with the annexation of the district by the British in A.D. 1799, it was confined to a stretch of land bordered on the north by the forest line of Śirūr and on the south by the town of Caravattūru.

The origin of the word Tuluva remains still a difficult question. According to tradition the name Tuḷuva is traced to the activities of a ruler called Bhoja Rāja, also known as Candrasekhara. It is said that in order to please the Brahmans, he gave them

1 Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collections*, p. 28. Cf. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, pp. 48-9 (1924). Another version of the same work says that the southern boundary of Tuluva was the Kanniorottu river, south of Kaval. Buchanan, *op cit*, III., p. 8.

2. Barbosa, Duarte, *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar* etc. I. p. 184, n. 2. (Dames, London, 1918)

munificent gifts like the *tulā-puruṣa-dāna*, the *tulā-dāna*, etc. Since he presented to the Brahmans, who had come from different provinces, gold weighing one hundred *toḷas* each, he was called *Tulābhāra*, *Tulā Rāja*, and *Tulā Deśādhipati*, and the people over whom he ruled, the Tulu people. Further, the dynasty to which he belonged came to be known as the *Tolār* line.¹

Kerala legends ascribe the name Tuluva to one Tulumphan Perumāl. This ruler, it is alleged, fixed his residence at Koteśvara, a prominent Śaivite seat in the northern part of Tuluva, just before Kerala was separated from Tuluva. The country was thenceforward called after his name.²

Sturrock merely echoes the opinion of others that the word Tuluva could be traced to the word *tulu*, meaning mild, humble, meek, etc.³

None of these explanations can be given any credence. We may dismiss the last one as being inadmissible both on historical and philological grounds. In the first place, the achievements of the Tulu people in historical times, as we shall presently narrate, bring out clearly a trait in the character of the early Tuluvas quite opposite to the one which is indicated by the ingenious explanation offered by Sturrock. Moreover, there is no evidence to prove that the word *Tulu*,—which is not in common use, as

1. Cf. Srinivasa Hegde, *Dakṣiṇa Kannaḍa Jilleya Caritre mattu Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya rāyana Aḷiya Kattu*, pp. 44-45. (Mangalore, 1913)

2. Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, I., p. 2.

3. Sturrock, *ibid*, Brigel, *Tulu-English Dictionary*, q. v.

Sturrock rightly remarked,—was ever current among the Tulu people themselves, and that they called the country which they inhabited by a name signifying a feature in their character which they did not possess. Turning to the other two explanations we may note that the story of Rāma Bhoja's munificence was evidently an invention of the Brahmans while that of Tulumbhan Perumāl, whose identity itself is a matter of speculation, was the result of confusion between the legends of Tuluva and those of Keraḷa.

The word Tuluva may be derived from the Hale Kannada verbal root *tūlu*, to attack,² signifying thereby the nature of the ancient Tuluva people whose warlike activities in the early ages of history secured for them that appellation from their neighbours, the equally or perhaps more ancient Karnāṭaka people. Evidence in support of this may be secured from their folk-lore, traditions, faith, games and political history. The stirring sagas called Pāḍadānas contain their folk-lore, and these describe, as we shall prove in the later part of this treatise, the activities of gallant men and women whose memories are even now cherished with legitimate pride and affection by the Tulu people.

1. The unhistoricity of the derivation of the name Tulu from Tolāra is seen when we note that the earliest variant of the name is Tolāha and not Tolāra. This name Tolāha appears in an Ālup record dated A.D. 1140-41. 176 of 1901. The Perumāls themselves were foreigners. Read Logan, *Malabar Gazetteer*, pp. 230, 244.

2. Cf. Kittel, *Kannada-English Dicty*, p. 738.

The traditions of the Koragars, some of whom seem to have formed a part of the Tulu people,¹ the Mailars, the Holeyas, the Mogers, and others, justify our assumption that they belonged to a warlike race. The traditions of the Koragars, for example, eulogize the deeds of a powerful Koragar king named Hubāsika and of his nephew. We shall refer to them later on in the course of this treatise. The legendary account of the Holeyas as recorded in a narrative called *Bahudanda*, cited by Buchanan, relates that a ruler who belonged to that tribe seized upon the country. In the same account we are told that the Mogers, who now form the bulk of the fisher-folk of Tuluva, assisted the Holeyas. It is believed that the Mailars (Mallars?) were the rulers of the country. Ruined forts at Maddūr, four miles to the north-north-east of Kāsar-gōdu, and at Kāvu, thirty-five miles to the north-east of the same town,² bear witness to the olden times when the war-like Tulu people had conquered the country.

Ample evidence can be gathered from their games in order to establish their claims for martial activities in the past. Sports like *ajakāyi-derpumi*, *tappangūyi*, the *ambōḍi jātrā*, *kōrida-jūju*, *tūte-dāra*, *keddasa* festival, *cendu*, and *bōntē*—these are the survivals of the far-off times when the militant Tulu people wrested the ownership of the land from the hands of the aboriginal inhabitants.

1. On the Koragars, read Salatore, *The Wild Tribes in Indian History*, p. 43 (Lahore, 1935).

2. Sewell, *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, I pp. 238-239. (Madras, 1882)

Ajakāyī-derpuni is a favourite game among the Billavars and the Buṇṭs. It is a contest between two persons who hold cocoanuts in their palms at a distance of about twelve to fourteen inches, and bring the fruits one against the other simultaneously. In this game the broken fruit is the property of the victor. The *tappangāyī* is a game which is played in the open in front of a household. A cocoanut shorn of its fibres and well smeared with oil, is thrown into the air. A scramble follows at a given signal among those present—the *javanere*, as the youth of the locality are called,—and the strongest retains it in his hands as a sign of victory. This game is common among all classes of people.

But the *ambōḍī jātrā* is a pastime which is seen only among the Holeyas. It is held at Ermāl, Udayāvara (near Uḍipi), and Baḷlamanje. The *ambōḍī jātrā* is a mock fight with staves about three, some times six, feet in length representing swords, between two parties. The *kōṛida-jūju* or cock fight is indulged in by all classes of people except the Brahmans and the Jains. We have described it elsewhere in detail.¹ An equally interesting and universal game is the *ceṇḍu* or a sort of foot ball played during the famous *jātrā* at Poḷali. It is held on the occasion of the car festival which takes place on the Mīna Śaṅkramaṇa, in the famous Rājarājeśvarī Durgā Parameśvarī temple. Popular belief con-

1. Saletore, *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, XVII, pp. 316-327.

nects the play (*cendu*) with the heads of the *daityas* named Canda and Munḍa.¹

More interesting than the above is the torch fight called *tūte-dāra* which is best seen in the Bappanāḍu *grāma*, a suburb of Mūlki, Mangalore tāluca. It is held at night in front of the Durgā Paramēśvarī temple at Bappanāḍu. Only two rival parties take part in it: the people of Bappanāḍu and those of Kārṇāḍu. The latter are led by the Gundāl household (*manetana*), while those of Kārṇāḍu, by the Bālehittalu and the Nāḍi Kuduru people. Each party consists of seventy to ninety men. They are stationed at a distance of about fifty feet. Torches of cocoanut leaves about two and a half to three feet in length, are prepared by the Holeyas of the respective villages. The combatants are expected to have taken a ceremonial bath and to have abstained from drinking liquor and eating meat. Every combatant has two to three torches at his disposal. At a given signal, the men of the Kambalasāna light a torch and give it to the leader of the Bappanāḍu *grāma*. Likewise a man from the Māgandāḍisāna gives a lighted torch to the Kārṇāḍu people. On a second signal being given, the two parties throw at each other the lighted torches. The game lasts for about fifteen minutes when the leaders of both parties end it. We are unable to determine the significance of this interesting and unique Tuluva game.

1. Cf. Heude, *Cristre*, p. 258

An equally noteworthy sport of the 'Tulu people is the hunting excursion on the *keddasa* days. This game is common to all the people and is held over the whole of the district. The *keddasa* festival begins, according to some, on the 24th of the 'Tulu month of Māyī (February-March), or according to others, on the 25th of Makara (i.e., on or about the 5th of February), and lasts for three days. It is held, according to the popular conception, to commemorate Mother Earth's purification. All the 'Tulu people suspend work on these days, and go a-hunting boars, rabbits and wild pigeons. Food prepared out of baked *kudu* or horse gram (*dolichos uniflorus*) and rice is eaten during these three days.¹

The term *bōnte* (Kannāḍa *bēte*) is given to an ordinary hunting expedition conducted on a large scale by the chieftains of a locality. How heartily the 'Tuluva chieftains conducted the *bōnte* will be seen when we shall describe the life of the people.

The whole trend of events from early centuries of the Christian era down to the sixteenth century, and especially the rise of an indigenous principality which rested solely on the strength of 'Tuluva arms and which

1 The term *keddasa* is also given to the change in the direction of the wind. The north easter which begins to blow in February-March is called the *keddasa-gāli*. The *keddasa* excursion of 'Tuluva may be compared to the annual hunting festivals of the Hos of Chota Nagpur, the Ahairs of the Rajputs, the Munda rite, and the Sitale festivals of the tribes in Bihar. Read, Hastings, *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, V. p. 20. B. A. S.

lasted till the fourteenth century attest to the warlike nature of the Tuluva people in historical times. One significant phrase used in inscriptions in connection with them, as will be given in detail when we shall deal with the political history of the province, *viz.*, that hostile rulers were like a submarine fire to the ocean the Tuluva army (*Tuluva bala-jaladhī-badavāṇalam*), adds to the testimony that is decidedly in favour of the early Tuluvas being considered as a people of aggressive habits.

2 TULUVA IN THE LEGEND OF PARAŚURĀMA

'Tuluvanādu, or as it was known in early times Ālvakheda,¹ was a unit by itself since the earliest ages, both according to tradition as well as history. It is entirely erroneous to assume with the compiler of the *South Canara Manual* that no definite historic record relating to South Kanara has been found of earlier date than the eighth or ninth century A D, and that "it must certainly at one time have formed part of Kerala, or Chera," the westernmost of the three ancient Dravidian kingdoms mentioned in the Edicts of Emperor Aśoka.² An enquiry into the origin of Tuluva as an independent unit brings us to the description of the personality and achievements of one of the most remarkable figures known to Hindu tradition. This was

1 Only once is it called *Tulun a-risaya* in a later record 136 of the *Epigraphical Report of the S Circle* for 1901, *South Indian Inscriptions*, VII, No 327, p. 178

2. Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, I. p. 54.

the famous Jāmadagnya, or Paraśurāma, as he was known more popularly, to whom is ascribed the existence of Tuluva as a separate historic province.

The story of Jāmadagnya, or Rāma, as he is called in the *Mahābhārata*, briefly told is the following:—Once king Kārtavīrya, also known as Sahasrabāhu Arjuna, because he had been endowed with a thousand arms by Dattātreyā,—ruler of the Haihaya tribes with his capital at Māhiṣmatī, came to the hermitage of Jamadagni. He was received by Rēnukā, wife of the great Ṛṣi, with all due respect. But Kārtavīrya, filled with the pride of his valour, in return to her hospitality carried off along with him by violence the calf of the milch cow of the sacred oblations and cast down the tall trees surrounding the hermitage Bhārgava, on being told by his father about the cow, killed the king. The sons of Kārtavīrya revenged the death of their father by attacking the hermitage of Jamadagni, and slaying the old Ṛṣi when Rāma was away.

Rāma in sorrow vowed to extirpate the whole Kṣatriya race. He killed the sons of Kārtavīrya, and thrice seven times cleared the earth of the Kṣatriya caste; and with their blood filled the five large lakes of Samantapañcaka, from which he offered oblations to the race of Bhṛgu. Here he saw his sire once again, and on being told by him what to do, Rāma offered a solemn sacrifice to the king of the gods, and presented the earth to the ministering priests. To Kaśyapa he gave the altar made of gold, ten fathoms in length and nine

in height. With the permission of Kaśyapa, the Brahmans divided it into pieces amongst themselves, and they were thenceforward called Khandavāyana Brahmans.

The story as told in the *Rājadharmā* section of the *S'ānti Parva* adds that when Jāmadagnya had given the earth to Kaśyapa, the latter desired him to depart, as there was no dwelling place for him in it, and to repair to the seashore of the south. It was here that the Ocean relinquished to Rāma the maritime district of Śurpāraka. It must be remembered that the Śurpāraka region is distinctly said to be the creation of Paraśurāma. Thus in the *S'ānti Parva*.—

Tatah Ś'urpārakam des'am sāgarah tasya nirmame |

Sahasā Jāmadagnyasya S'opārānte mahītalaṃ ||¹

With the above story which is narrated in the *Mahābhārata* and repeated in the *Purānas*,² we may proceed with our narrative. Of all the versions of the story as given in the *Purānas*, that narrated in the *Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa* of the *Skānda Purāna* has an intimate bearing on the history of Tuluva.³ The version in the *Sahyādrī-*

1-2 Cf. Saletore, *Paraśurāma in History and Legend* Paper read at the VII, All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda, 1933. Read also the *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, Sec CXV, pp. 355-62; Śānti Parva, Sec. III pp. 6, seq., *Viṣṇu Purāna*, pp. 401-4, and 404, n (21), *Matsya Purāna*, Chs. XLII-XLIV pp. 110-120. See also *ibid.*, pp. 112-116. (Taluqdar), *Agri Purāna*, III. CCCXXVI. p. 1005. (Calcutta, 1903), *ibid.*, Ch. IV, v. 12 seq. pp. 4-5, Ch. V v. 14, p. 5 (Poona 1900), *Bhāgavata Purāna*, Bk. IX. Ch. 18, pp. 62-65 (Calcutta, 1896); *Padma Purāna*, Vol. IV, Ch. 268, pp. 1847, seq (Poona, 1894).

3. *Skānda Purāna*, Uttarārdha, Ch. VI, v. 21, seq. p. 324, seq (Ed. Gerson d'Cunha, Bombay, 1877) Read also *Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa* Ch. I, V. 82, p. 304, on the Brahmans irritating the great hero.

kānda is substantially the same as that related above with the exception of a few details which will be examined presently.

The story of Paraśurāma dating back as it does to the times of the *Rāmāyana* and before, cannot be altogether dismissed as a fascinating fabrication of the fertile Brahman brains. Even at the risk of digressing a little from the main part of our narrative, we may be permitted to make a few observations concerning this great figure, especially as gathered from the writings of Hindu writers and epigraphical records. These notices, as we shall see at once, will help us to elucidate the alleged creation of Tuluva by Jāmadagnya. In the *Mahābhārata* itself we have a few places associated with the name and greatness of Paraśurāma. Proceeding next to the mountain called Mahendra, we are told in that epic, inhabited (of yore) by Jāmadagnya, and bathing in Rāma's *tīrtha*, a person acquireth the merit of a horse-sacrifice.¹ In the same work we are informed that after visiting the asylum of Śarabhanga, one should proceed to Śurpāraka where Jamadagni's son had formerly dwelt. Bathing in that *tīrtha* of Rāma, one acquireth the merit of giving away gold in abundance.² Dhaumya relates to Bharata further that in that same Śurpāraka *tīrtha* are two sacrificial platforms of the illustrious Jamadagni, called Pāsāna and Punascandra.³

The *Mārkaṇdeya Purāna* informs us that along the northern half of the Sahya mountains is the region in

1-3 *Vana Parva*, LXXXV, LXXXVIII, pp 277, 279, 291.

which the Godāvarī flows and which is delightful even when compared with the whole world And Govardhana is the charming city of the high-souled Bhārgava race ¹

References to Paraśurāma and his creations on the west coast are also found in the *Raghuvamśa* where Kālidāsa gives clear evidence of the legend having been current in about the fifth century A D While describing Raghu's march through the Sahya regions and Kerala, and the adjoining lands on the west coast, Kālidāsa says that when Raghu's vast armies spread out in view of conquering the west, the sea though (at one time) sent back by the missiles of Paraśurāma now appeared as if touching it Then, again, it is mentioned, continues the poet, that the ocean when entreated, gave space to Paraśurāma, (the same ocean) now paid tribute to Raghu through the kings of the west In a later context, Kālidāsa informs us that prince Pratīpa having obtained the god of fire as an ally in battle, he considers the sharp edge of Paraśurāma's axe which is the very destructive night to the Ksatriyas to be no more than the petal of a lotus. While narrating the story of Paraśurāma himself, Kālidāsa informs us that he destroyed the Ksatriyas twenty-one times.²

1 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p 310

2 Kālidāsa, *Raghuvamśa* IV 53, 54, 58, VI. 42, XI. 66, 67. And *ibid*, 38-41 where the poet describes the activities of Kārtavīrya Sahasrabāhu (Bombay, 1916).

Allusions to the ruler of Māhismatī, Sahasrabāhu Arjuna, and Paraśurāma are made by Bāna in his *Kādambarī*. A portress, who approaches king Śūdraka with some news, is thus described :—like the blade of Paraśurāma's axe she held the circle of kings in submission.¹ Then, again, the parrot Vaiśampāyana relates how it saw the Śabara army coming out from the forests of the Vindhya. It was like the stream of Narmadā tossed by Arjuna's thousand arms.² While describing Candrāpīḍa's deftness in the use of arms, Bāna writes that his shafts, like those of Paraśurāma when the latter blazed to consume the forest of earth's royal stems, cleft only the highest peaks.³

Even the account of a foreign writer of the sixteenth century A.D. contains echoes of the old legend. Duarte Barbosa thus remarked while writing about Tuluvanādu which he called Tulinat.—“And the Indians say that in former times all these low grounds were sea, which reached to the said range (i.e., the Western Ghats), and that in process of time the sea uncovered it, and swallowed it up in other parts, and to the foot of those mountains. There are many traces of things of the sea, and the low ground is very level like the sea, and the mountain chain is very craggy, and seems to rise to the heavens .”⁴

1-3. Bāna, *Kādambarī*, Purv. pp. 25-26, 109, 295 (Ed. by Śrī Haridasa B. Siddhānta Vyāsa Bhaṭṭācārya, Calcutta, 1916), pp. 5-7, 21 61. (Ridding).

4 Duarte Barbosa, A Portuguese, *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*, Etc p. 84 (Stanley, London, 1865)

We have to come to the sixteenth century, therefore, in order to meet with people who ascribed the origin of the western coast, and with it the beginnings of the province the history of which forms the subject of our narrative, not to the doings of a remarkable personage but to a subterranean agency in some palaeolithic period which the ancients masked under the guise of a legend.

Nevertheless the achievements of Paraśurāma have been recorded in epigraphs ranging from the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The Ganga king Durvinita Koṅgunivṛddha, who ascended the throne in A.D. 482, is called in the Nallāla plates issued by himself and dated in his fortieth regnal year (*i. e.*, A.D. 522-3), "an incarnation of Paraśurāma in the art of using *astras*, *upāstras*, and other weapons."¹ The Western Cālukya ruler Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, son of Pulikeśin II, is praised thus in a record dated A.D. 692.—That he was reckoned to be an elephant-goat to kings like Paraśurāma.² This is repeated in an inscription of A.D. 694.³ Śrīpurusa Koṅgunivarma II, the Ganga king, is said in a record dated A.D. 749 to be in valour like the son of Jamadagni.⁴ This eulogy in regard to the same valiant monarch is

1 *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1924, p. 71. On the date of his accession, read Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp. 5, 35

2 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VIII Sb 571, p. 92.

3. *Ibid*, XI, Dg. 66, p. 62

4. *Ibid*, VI M^o 36, p. 66.

repeated in A. D. 776 and again in A. D. 797¹. Even in the reign of the Ganga king Ereyappa Nitimārga II, an inscription dated A. D. 903 describes Śrīpurusa Prthvī Koṅgunivarma II to be in valour Jāmadagnya².

Rājendra Cola Deva (A. D. 1016–A. D. 1064) is credited with the conquests of a great many forts and cities, and especially with the performance of a deed which is in all respects singular in the history of Paraśurāma. Inscriptions ranging from A. D. 1019 till about A. D. 1101 maintain that that great Tāmil ruler conquered “many ancient islands securely guarded from time immemorial by the sea resounding with conches, and the crown of pure gold worthy of Laksmī, which Paraśurāma, who in anger extirpated kings twenty-one times in battle, had deposited in the inaccessible Śāndīma (also called Śāndīma, and in one record Cāndīmat) island, having considered it a secure place”³. Cāndīmat is a corruption of Śāntīmat, or Śāntīmanta,⁴ and it may be identified with the island Śānti mentioned in the Tulu *Grāmapaddhati* as having formed one of the seventy-seven islands which belonged to the Ghorāstra on the western

1 E. C., IV Ng 85, p. 135. *My. Archl. Rept.*, for 1921, p. 20. E. C. IX, Nl. 60, p. 40.

2 E. C., X. K1 90, p. 26.

3 *Ibid.* X Hl. 106 (a) p. 32. III Nj 134, p. 109. X K1 44, p. 11. Nl 7, p. 31. III TN. 34, p. 74. Of these Nj. dated A. D. 1021 and TN 34 dated A. D. 1074 relate that Paraśurāma raging with anger bound the kings twenty-one times. See also Rice, *Mysore Gaz.*, I p. 334 (rev. ed.), *My. & Coorg.*, p. 88.

4 Dr S. K. Aiyangar was kind enough to inform me that Cāndīmat was probably the Tāmil form for Śāntīmanta. But about its location he was not certain. B. A. S.

coast of India ¹ But no further details concerning this island are available either in history or legend

Vinayāditya Satyāśraya was not the only Western Cālukya ruler whose warlike activities are associated with Paraśurāma. The famous Vikramāditya VI, more commonly called Tribhuvanamalla II, and Vikramānka, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1073-4, is thus described in a record dated A.D. 1077 :—" the resoluteness of him who in order to destroy the Ksatriyas in the earth slew the kings twenty-one times. " ²

This remarkable achievement of Paraśurāma is also connected with the rise of one of the feudatories of the same great Western Cālukya monarch. An inscription dated only in the 38th regnal year of the king Vikramāditya VI (i.e., in A.D. 1112) dealing with the origin of his feudatory Dadiga, son of king Gunda, of the Bali race and of the Bappura family, ruler over Kisukād, says the following :—" When Jāmadagnya came in the

1. Srinivasa Hegde referring to a copy of the *Grāmapaddhati* said to have been in the possession of Palli Subbannācārya, enumerates the seventy-seven islands which formed a part of the Ghorāstra *Caritre*, pp. 41-42. I cannot accept the description as valid because it is not mentioned in any other version of the *Grāmapaddhati* which I have secured from various parts of the district. Ghorāstra seems to have been a form of Go-rāstra, and is not met with anywhere in inscriptions. Of the seventy-seven islands only the following seem to be historical.—Valalanka (i.e., a quarter of Mūlki), Uppinakuduru, Hanuvaradvipa, Haṭṭikuduru and Babbukuduru. Excepting Hanuvaradvipa, which is another name for Honnāvūru, the others are still seen today in Tuluva. B A S

2. E C, VII, Sk. 124, p. 97, Fleet, *Dyn Kan. Districts*, p. 49 (1st ed.). Rice places the accession of Vikramāditya VI in A.D. 1076. *My & Coorg.*, p. 73.

course of his wanderings in which he destroyed the Ksatriya race, there were born from the caves of mount Kiskindhā certain heroes from whom sprang the members of the Balī race, who are the ornaments of the Bappuras.”¹

Visnuvardhana Bittiga Deva is thus praised in a record dated A.D. 1160:—To king Narasimhavarma, a Cola ruler, (he was) like an axe to a tree or Paraśurāma to Sahasrabāhu,—this wonderful king Viṣṇu became the destroyer a hundred times of Ksatriyas.²

Rulers on the eastern coast too were associated with the name of Paraśurāma but this time it is with one of his singular characteristic features. The *Mahā-maṇḍales'vara* Kondapadmatī Buddharājā, who belonged to the Śūdra caste, is called in A.D. 1171-2 a Paraśurāma (in keeping vows).³

But it is generally the monarchs of the Karnātaka and the western parts of India whose martial deeds reminded the people of the valour of Paraśurāma. Of the Kalacuriya king Rāyamurāri Soyī Deva, also called Soma, an inscription dated A.D. 1174 relates thus:—“His guru Aśvatthāma causing with affection the moustaches and beard of that Soma to grow thick, as if for ornament, when Paraśurāma with a raging fire of

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, XV. p. 106

2. *Inscriptions at S'ravana Belgola*, No. 138, p. 183 (1st ed.)
Evidently this refers to the expulsion of the Colas from the Karnātaka country. See Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 99

3. *E. I.*, VI p. 273.

fury came to swallow up the kings, with great affection preserved him, and together with a sign (or crest) the name of Kalacuri to that family—this *Īśvarāṁśa* ”¹

Vīra Narasiṁha II (A D 1220–1235) of the Hoysala dynasty, is described in a record date A D. 1223, to be “stronger than Paraśurāma ”²

The earlier story of Paraśurāma having reclaimed the land is given in an inscription dated A.D 1368 thus —Having turned back the ocean and conquered the earth, the acme of might and liberality, the sole repository of fame, was Jāmadagnya who, slaying the Ksatriyas that from enjoying the earth were filled with pride, made it as far as encircled by the ocean the possession of the Brahmans.³

Reminiscences of the pious deeds of Paraśurāma in Karnātaka as well as in the regions around it may now be mentioned. A defaced inscription dated A.D. 1538 of the times of the Vijayanagara monarch Acyuta Rāya, informs us that Paraśurāma had set up the image of the goddess Kōlāla in the *punyakṣetra* of Dahana Kōlāla, and that (in the same year) the name of that holy place was changed into Kōlāla Bhārgava.⁴ The god in the Venkataramana temple at Lakkondanahalli in the Hosakote tāluka, is said to have been set up by Paraśurāma, according to the *sthala-māhātmya* of the locality.⁵

1. E C , VII. Sk. 236, p. 136.

2. *Mys Inscriptions*, p. 32.

3. E. C , VII. Sk. 281, p. 146.

4. *Ibid*, X. Kl. 114, p. 44.

5. E. C , X , Kl. 114, p. 44 , *Mv Archl Rept* , for 1919, p. 7.

Hiremagaḷūr in the Kadur district, as the *sthala-māhātmya* of that place relates, was once the residence of nine *siddhas* or saints, who performed penance near a pond in the village known as Siddhapuskaranī. It then became the residence of Paraśurāma. An image of Rāma was set up there. The town also contains a singular memorial. It is the temple of Paraśu, or the axe of the hero. The town was rechristened as Bhārgavapurī.¹

Sorab tāluka is the Surabhī which was Jamadagni's possession. The temple of Renukā, mother of Paraśurāma, existing to this day, at Candragutti, is said to mark the spot where she burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, and the temple of Kōlālaṃmā at Kolar is said to have been erected in her honour from Kārtavīrya's having been slain there. The colloquy with Sāgara is said to have been held near Tīrthahallī.² It was here at Tīrthahallī that Paraśurāma stood and aimed his axe at Sāgara, as is also narrated in the *Grāmapaddhati* of Tuluva.

There is a processional image of wood representing Paraśurāma in the village called Cikkaṇāyakanahallī.³ Pāḷya, a small village twelve miles west of Hassan on the Hassan-Sakalespur road, is reckoned to have been the hermitage of Jamadagni.⁴

Tuluva too has places which are associated with the memories and doings of Paraśurāma. Three miles

1. *My Archl Rept*, for 1916, p 21, *My Gaz*, I p 276 (rev ed.)

2. *My Gaz*, ibid. 3. *My Archl Rept*, for 1918, p. 14.

4. *Ibid* for 1926, pp 1-2.

north of Uḍipi lies the village of Puttūr which contains a temple of Durgā Bhagavatī said to have been established by Paraśurāma. Although the origin of this temple is according to us quite different, as we shall point out in a later context, yet popular conception connects it with Paraśurāma. It is said that he established the image of Durgā Bhagavatī in that temple. Besides this image Paraśurāma is said to have erected three Durgā images and four *Nāgālayas* around Uḍipi. The Durgālayas were those at Kuñjāru, Kannarapāḍi and Indrāni (Indrālī or Indrallī). The four *Nāgālayas* were those of Arītōḍu, Tāngōḍu, Māngōḍu, and Mucca-lagōḍu, all of them being in the Uḍipi tāluka.¹ Uḍipi or Rajathapītha itself, one of the seven holy places in Tuluva, is said to owe its existence to Paraśurāma's piety. The other six centres were Kumārādrī (modern Subrahmanya), Kumbhakāśī (modern Kōṭa), Dhvajeśvara (modern Koteśvara), Krōḍa (modern Śankaranārāyaṇa), Mūkāmbā (modern Kollūru), and Gokarna (now in North Kanara).

The temple of Rēnukā at Kuñjāragiri, a village about eight miles to the south-east of Uḍipi, is considered very holy because of the image of Renukā which, according to the *Sthaḷa-māhātmya* of the locality, Paraśurāma installed in memory of his mother.² The *Sthaḷa-*

1 These four *Durgālayas* and the four *Nāgālayas* form the *Astabandhas* round Rajathapītha. B. A. S.

2. We may observe here that in this holy place at Kuñjāragiri, there are four *Tīrthas* called Paraśutīrtha, Gadatīrtha, Dhanuśīrtha, and Śaratīrtha. Legend ascribes them to the prowess of Paraśurāma. It

māhātmya of Kadirikā asserts that Paraśurāma made a sacrificial fire which the Kānapāthi Jogis of the north turned into an altar in later days.

The region immediately to the south of Tuluva, Kerala, also owed its origin to Paraśurāma. At least so it is related in the traditional accounts of that province called *Keralotpatti*. These legendary accounts of Kerala which will presently be cited, are, however, more confusing than those of Tuluva.¹

We may briefly note here how Paraśurāma has figured in the annals of other provinces as well. Thus, for instance, it is related in the traditions of the Khatrijs how, when he was exterminating the Ksatriyas, a pregnant girl escaped and took shelter with a Sarsut (Sārasvata) Brahman. When questioned by the pursuers, the Brahman said that she was his cook (khatrut?), and to prove it ate bread of her hands.² Paraśurāma is also mentioned in the traditions of the Nirmand Brahmins of the Sutlej and of the Pāliās of Bihar.³ It is maintained by some that a few sculptures in the Konarak temple in Orissa represent the shooting of arrows by Paraśurāma.⁴ Commenting on one of the bas-

is interesting to note that the Tulu language has been used in connection with Paraśurāma in districts outside Tuluva. In the Chitaldroog district is a place called Paraśurāmapura, some inscriptions of which are partly in Tulu. Rice, *My Gaz*, I p. 180 (1st ed.)

1 Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental Mss*, III, pp 665-6, Wilson, *Mack Coll*, I, p. 74.

2 *Indian Artiquary*, I, pp 289-290, *ibid*, II, p. 26

3 Rose, *Castes and Tribes of the Punjab*, I, p. 345, *I. A. I.* p. 337.

4 *I. A.*, XLVII, p. 215.

reliets at Bādāmi, Dr. Charpentier remarked that the *s'ūrpa* or winnowing basket found therein may possibly be referred to Paraśurāma ¹

3 EXAMINATION OF THE STORY RELATING TO THE ALLEGED CREATIONS OF PARAŚURĀMA

The detailed references to Paraśurāma's character and valour given above, while they prove the extreme popularity of the great personage and of the veneration in which he was held, especially in the Karnāṭaka and Tamil regions, do not contain notices of his creations which deserve now to be examined also with the aid of literary and epigraphical evidence. That Paraśurāma cleared the earth of the Ksatriyas twenty-one times, tradition, literary works, and inscriptions unanimously agree. In the version of his story as given in the *Mahābhārata* and repeated in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, as mentioned above, we said that Paraśurāma gave the earth to the ministering priests who, with the permission of Kaśyapa, divided it amongst themselves. It was also further observed that Jāmadagnya retired to the sea shore of the south, on being told by Kaśyapa that he had no place anywhere to reside.

These two details seem to have furnished later writers with matter for the construction of an ingenious story which is best described in the *sahyādrī-kāṇḍa* of the *Skānda-Purāṇa*. Narrated in the briefest words, it is the following — That Paraśurāma stood on a parti-

1. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1929*, p. 152

cular spot, threw his battle axe into (or, as some say, shot his arrows at) the Ocean, and with the land thus relinquished to him by Sāgara, formed seven divisions known as the Sapta Konkanas. Of these seven divisions, Tuluva was one. (A minuter division was made of the land into *grāmas* or villages which were distributed amongst the Brahmans.) After a series of events which need not be described here, he retired to the Mahendra mountain.

The *Sahyādrī-kānda* asserts that he stood on the top of the Sahya-*Sahyācalasya s'ikhare sthitah* ¹ This spot may be identified with Tirthahalli mentioned both in the *sthala-māhātmyas* of the Karnāṭaka as well as those of Tuluva, and not with Mount Dilly, as remarked by Wilson long ago ² As to the place where Paraśurāma finally retired, we are told that it was the Mahendra mountain on the southern seashore. This was no other than the most southerly spurs of the Travancore hills

1 *Sahyādrī-kānda* Uttarārdha, Ch VI v 37, p 325

2. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* p 404, n 21. It is not mentioned anywhere, as Wilson seems to think, that Parasurāma shot his arrow over the site of modern Kerala. Wilson writes further in the same connection —“ It seems likely that we have proof of the local legend being at least as old as the beginning of the Christian era, as the Mons Pyrrhus of Ptolemy is probably the mountain of Paraśu or Paraśu Rāma ” *Ibid* See also Wilson, *Mack Coll*, I p xciv. Rice repeats this in his *My. Gaz*, I p. 276, n (3) (1st ed.) Mount Paraśu mentioned by Wilson cannot be traced anywhere in the topographical lists known to history. On Mount Dilly or Delly, read *J R A S.* for 1922, p. 166, seq, *ibid*, for 1923, pp 83-4, *ibid* for 1924, pp. 257-8. Ptolemy mentions Pyrrhus or the Red Hills *Ptolemy*, p. 53 (McCrindle, Calcutta, 1885).

still called by that name from where Hanumān is said to have leaped on to Lankā¹

Now we come to the main part of the story of Paraśurāma with which we are concerned, viz., the acquisition of a large stretch of country from the ocean by him, his alleged division of the land into seven districts one of which was called Tuluva, and the distribution of these seven provinces among the Brahmans, as given in the *Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa* and in the traditional accounts of Tuluva called the *Grāmapaddhati*. Thus in the *Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa* —

*Brāhmaṇānām tatah prthvi dānaṃ dattvā-yathā-vīdhiḥ ।
Navīnaṃ nū mitaṃ ksetraṃ S'urpārakaṃ anuttamaṃ ॥
Vaitaranyā daksīṇe tu Subrahmanyah-tathā-uttare ।
Sahyāt-sāgara-paryantaṃ S'urpākāram-vyavasthitaṃ ॥*²

This would make the country reclaimed from the sea one hundred *yojanas* in length and three *yojanas* in breadth from the Vaitaranī (near Nāsik) in the north to Subrahmanya in the south. The faithfulness of the authors of *Skāṇḍa Purāṇa* to one detail given in the *Mahābhārata* is apparent when we read in the above

1. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kiskindhā-kāṇḍa, Sarga 67, vv. 37, 42, pp. 1692-3. A more exact location of Mahendra is given in the same epic where it is expressly stated to be in the south. Sarga, 41, vv. 16, 20, p. 1607 (Mudholkar, Bombay, 1915). Mahendragiri lies a few miles from Nagercoil. It was here on the Mahendragiri that on June 2, 1935, one of the three coolies who had been to that hill, was crushed by a wild elephant, as was reported in the *Times of India*, Bombay, dated June 12, 1935.

2. *Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa* Uttar Ch. VI vv. 23-25.

extract that this excellent and newly created place was christened Śurpāraka district. This was the name, as we have noted above, given to the new province in the *S'ānti Parva*.

We may observe here that the *Grāmapaddhati* of Tuluva, based to some extent as it was on the *Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa*, also confirms the detail concerning the length and breadth of the new province but adds a few more details which were obviously the outcome of indigenous intellect. Thus one version of the *Grāmapaddhati* depicts Paraśurāma as having taken his stand on the *Simha*-written in some versions *Samya*-mountain which is evidently an error for Sahya mountain, and of having secured a stretch of territory three *yojanas* in extent from the Simha mountain and thirty *yojanas* from Kanyākumārī to Trīyambaka. A more accurate version of the same work ascribed to one Bhattācārya, gives the length of the province as one hundred *yojanas* from Nāsik in the north to Kanyākumārī in the south, and three *yojanas* in breadth from the Sahya mountain to the western sea.¹

The *Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa* tells us also that Jāmadagnya created the Sapta Kotīśvara *tirthas* with which we are not concerned here.² In a later passage we have the

1 In the version summarized by Wilson, we are informed that Parasurāma threw his axe from Cokarna to Kumārī, and the retiring ocean yielded him the coast of Malabar below the latitude of 15 degrees. Wilson, *Mack Coll*, I Inter pp xciv-xcv. Wilson confounds here Tuluva proper with Malabar. B. A. S.

2. *Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa* Uttar I vv 51-53, p. 305.

statement that he gave twelve *grāmas* to Brāhmins.—

Nissārayituṃ-ambūnāṃ-ālayam sāgaraṃ tadā ।

*Grāmānāṃ dvādaśānāṃ tu parimānena Bhārgavaḥ ॥*¹

And then we have the names of the famous seven divisions of the new land given thus—Kerala, Tulunga (i.e., Tuluva evidently), Haiva, Saurāstra, Koṅkana, Karahāta, and Karnātaka.² These were the well known Sapta Konkanas of western India.

While the fact of his having reclaimed the Śurpāraka province from the ocean and of his having established the Sapta Kotīśvaras dividing certain tracts into twelve *grāmas* amongst Brahmins is thus narrated in the epics and the *Purāṇas*, it is not told anywhere that he formed the seven districts mentioned above. The epics and the *Purāṇas*—excluding the *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa*—do not speak of the Sapta Koṅkanas as having been created by him. To the absence of this important detail in the *Purāṇas*, we may add two considerations to prove that the Sapta Konkanas cannot be ascribed to Paraśurāma at all. In the elaborate description of the activities of Kārtavīrya and of his sons, and of the discomfiture which Paraśurāma suffered at the hands of Daśaratha's son Rāma, as given by Kālidāsa, whose acquaintance with the traditional origin of a part of the western coast we have already seen, no mention is made of the Sapta Konkanas at all. On the other hand, Kālidāsa merely informs us that Paraśurāma had given the whole earth bounded by the ocean to the deserving

1 & 2. *Ibid*, Ch. VI. v. 42, p. 326, v. 46-7, p. 326.

(Brahmans). Thus does Paraśurāma himself tell Rāma.— Even the opposite of victory (i. e., defeat) inflicted by thee—the Primeval Being—is certainly agreeable to me who have reduced to ashes the enemies of my father and who have made over the whole earth bounded by the oceans to the deserving :—

*Bhasmasāt-krtavataḥ pitr-dviṣaḥ pātrasāt-ca vasudhām
sasāgarām ।*

*Āhitaḥ jaya-viparyayo'pi me s'lāghya eva paramesthinī
tvayā ॥*¹

The absence of any reference to the creation of the Sapta Koṅkanas by Paraśurāma in the work of Kālidāsa proves that the legend of Sapta Koṅkanas must have originated after the poet's time, i. e., after the fifth or the sixth century A D

Another consideration which goes to confirm the above assertion is the diversity of opinion among the writers of the story as regards the names of the districts that comprised the Sapta Konkanas. The *Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa* includes among the Konkanas the name Tulunga. Such a variant of the name Tuluva is not met with in any of the hitherto discovered historical records or traditional accounts of that district. Instead of Hayve mentioned in the *Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa*, we have Govarāṣṭra in other accounts. Saurāṣṭra of the same *Purāṇa* is called Varalatta in other versions². And instead of Karnāṭa, other accounts add Barbara³. Fur-

1. *Raghuvamśa*, XI. 86. See also *ibid.*, vv. 64-67 for the story of Kārtavīrya.

2 & 3. Wilson, *Asiatic Researches* XV. p. 47, (n). See also *Bombay Gazetteer*, I P. II. p. 283, n. (5).

ther, the Sapta Konkaṇas given in some southern accounts contain the names Virāta and Marātha instead of Karnāta and Saurāstra mentioned in the *Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa* ¹ This confusion is carried further in the *Keralotpatti* some versions of which practically deny the Sapta Konkanas altogether. They bring forward an altogether new division of the ancient units thus :—Tuluva, Mūsika, and Kerala ²

The unknown writer of a work called *Prapañca-hrdayam*, the date of which is unfortunately not determinable, confirms the existence of the above three names but also adds others to make up the Sapta Konkanas After describing the seven mountain ranges—Rksavat, Mahendra, Vindhya, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, and Pāriyātra, the work continues to give a brief notice of Lankāpurī, and then speaks of the land called *Paras'urāma-bhūmi* thus

Tatra Malaya-dvīpa-madhyavartīno Malaya-parvatasya-madhyama-s'ikhare Lankāpurī | sā prasiddhatarā Sahyapāde Paras'urāma-bhūmiḥ | sā Sāpta-Konkanākhyā Kūpaka-Kerala-Mūsika-Āluva-Pas'ukonkana-Parakonkana bhedena daksina-uttara-āyāmena ca vyavasthitā. ³

How six divisions could be termed Sapta Konkanas passes beyond one's comprehension.

1 Gundert, *Malayalam-English Dicty*, q v

2 Taylor, *Cat Ras*, I. p 667 Another Kerala tradition makes Parasurāma, a Pāndya ruler, and Ceruman Perumāl contemporaries ¹ *Ibid* III pp 166-7.

3 *Prapañcahrdayam* pp 3-4 (Ed by Ganpat Sastrī, Trivandrum Skt Series)

Nevertheless this account given in the *Prapañca-hrdayam* is important in two ways —Firstly, it confirms our surmise that there was never any uniformity in the mind of early writers as regards the exact nomenclature of the Seven Koṅkanas, and secondly, it gives another and an equally historical name of Tuluva-Āluva—which, as will be seen in the following pages, was used in those times to denote not only the dynasty that ruled over Tuluva but the province as well.

4 VERACITY OF THAT PART OF THE ABOVE STORY RELATING TO THE SAPTA KONKANAS EXAMINED

Inscriptional evidence leads us to the conclusion that the legend of the creation of the so-called Sapta Konkanas may have become popular in the eleventh century A.D. It is true that in some inscriptions of the early times we meet with the names of the component parts that made up the Sapta Konkaṇas. Thus, for instance, in a copper plate grant of the Ganga ruler Mārasimha, assigned to A.D. 786, Varāta-deśa in the north is said to be the country from which Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa, grandfather of the famous disputant Vādighaṇḡghala Bhatta, hailed.¹ Hayve is mentioned in a record dated about A.D. 991 as having contained a temple dedicated to the goddess Gundadabbe.² We may also

1. *My. Archl Rept* for 1921, p. 23.

2. *E. C.* VIII Sb 479 p. 81. In A.D. 1047 Hayve was under the *Mahāmandaleśvara* Cāmuṇḍa Rāyarasa. It was conquered by the Kalacuriya general Keśirāja in A.D. 1159. *E. C.* VII Sk 123, p. 93.

note here that three of the seven famous divisions are mentioned in a later record of the reign of king Harihara Rāya II. It relates that Mallapa Oḍeyar was in Śaka 1308 (A.D. 1386-7) the viceroy over the Tulu, Hayve, and Koṅkana kingdoms with his capital at Bārakūru.¹

But the Seven Konkanas seem to have sprung into fame in the Karnātaka records from the middle of the eleventh century A.D. onwards. It is said of the Western Cālukya monarch Āhavamalla Trailokyamalla in a record dated A.D. 1054 that he terrified and forced to obey the Seven Konkanas and the Seven Male which were united together.² The Kadam̄ba king Kīrti Deva is said to have subdued the Seven Konkanas as if in mere sport, in a record dated A.D. 1077.³ But in circa A.D. 1076 Bhoja Deva is said to have conquered the Koṅkana. No mention is made of the Sapta Koṅkanas in this record.⁴

An ingenious explanation regarding the creation of the Sapta Koṅkanas by Paraśurāma is given in the following record dated A.D. 1112-13 which, while tracing the origin of the great feudatory family of the Pāṇḍyas, alludes thus to the achievement of Paraśurāma :—"In the Kṛta yuga to the accomplisher of his desires Jamadagni, the husband of Renukā, was born

1 154 D of the *Epigraphical Report of the Southern Circle* for 1901, *South Indian Inscriptions*, VII., No 351, p 209.

2 E. C. VII, Sk. 118, p 85 3. E. C. VIII. Sb. 262, p. 42.

4. E. I. XI. p 181.

the powerful bearer of the *Paras'u* (or axe), the slayer of the son of Kṛtavīrya, who murdered his *guru*. And twenty-one times slaying all the kings in the world, he bestowed the circle of the earth as far as the ocean upon the Brahmans (*dharanī-devar*), but considering that he should not dwell in the property of the Brahmans he turned back the sea with the tip of his bow, the son of Renukī, praised by the learned. Having left not even space (*kana*) in the place occupied by the western ocean, that hero obtained from the favour of Phanikankana (Śiva) the Seven Konkanas as his abode. To the lady Konkana country thus created by Paraśurāma Hayve was like her *kankana* (or bracelet), in which as the beautiful chief gem shone forth Sisugali"—the capital of the Pāndyas of Ucchangi —

*kṛta-yugadol Jamadaṅnige kṛtakṛtiyang ogedu Renukī-
patig angī- 1*

*kṛta-guru-vadhanam vadhīysi Kṛtavīryātmajanan atī-
balaṃ Paras'udharam 11*

*dharanī-mandaladol dharābhujaran irppatt ondu sūl
kondu tad- 1*

*dharanī-maṇḍalamam samasta-dharanī-dēvarge vārddhī
antikam- 11*

*baram-itt-alli dharāmara-svaḍol iralk āg endu poḡ-ottī sū-1
garamam cāpada korppinol budha-nutam s'ri-Renukī-
nandanam 11*

*kana-mātrodakaman iralk anam iyade pas'cīmābdhī teged
edayol Kon- 1*

*kaṇa-saptakamaṃ Phaṇi-kankaṇa-varade nijās'rayārthaṃ
ā-vibhu paḍedaṃ ||*

antu Paras'urāma sṛṣṭi enisida

Konkaṇa dhātrī-vaniteya kankanad eseṇa Hayveyo!

*Sisugali...*¹

Certain considerations may be levelled against this interesting record of the times of the great Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya VI. In the first place, the record speaks of Renukī, while the recognized form of the name, as Rice correctly remarked, is Renukā. Secondly, the poet who has thus invented a new name for Jāmadagnya's mother, calls the Brahmins *dharanī-bhūvar*, a singular epithet which, while no doubt being in conformity with the traditional high status assumed by the priestly class, suggests nevertheless that, in this particular instance, it may have been used for reasons other than those of mere Brahmanical sanctimony. Thirdly, Paraśurāma is described by the scribe as turning the ocean by the tip of his bow. Here we have a peculiar detail which is not mentioned in any account of that hero. The ingenious poet brings in a fourth point which conclusively proves that he was inventing the story with an ulterior motive. He says that Śiva gave the land to Paraśurāma. But we have seen that, both according to the *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* and the traditional accounts of

1. E. C., VII. Sk. 99, p. 65, text, p. 183, ll. 14-17. See also *My. Inscr.* p. 83 where the same record is dated A.D. 1112. Read also *Bombay Gaz.*, I. P. II. p. 283 (n). Cf. *Kavīcarite*, I. p. 115 (1924).

Tuḷuva, it was the Ocean (Varuṇa) who relinquished the large tract of country from Nāsik to Kanyākumārī to Paraśurāma. Finally, the play upon the words *Phanikankana* and *kankaṇa* makes one suspect that the originator of the story was more prone to eulogize the greatness of Phaṇikaṅkana (Śiva) and to show the ultra-Śaivite bent of his mind than to hand down to posterity a trustworthy account of the origin of Paraśurāma *kṣetra*. Indeed, the manner in which the inscription ends completely justifies our assumption that the poet who composed the above story was a confirmed Śaivite.—*Gobbūra dhārana-sārvabhauma Mallikārjuna-bhattaṃ su-kavindra-Sanmukhaṃ bhadraṃ astu-S'iva-s'āsanāya*.

If the above account of the “ Universal Emperor of Mnemonics,” as Mallikārjuna Bhatṭa is styled, were correct, we should have had it in the many epigraphs referring to the Seven Koṅkanas of the Karnāṭaka rulers. But, as is proved by the following inscriptions, there is not even the slightest reference to the above version or its variants in them.

Epigraphs relating to the Seven Koṅkanas are many. The Śāntāra king Jayakeśi, son of Vijayāditya, is said in an inscription dated A.D. 1149 to have ruled over the Seven Koṅkaṇas.¹ But in A.D. 1125-6 a stone tablet at Narendra represents him as governing the Koṅkaṇa Nine-hundred, the Hayve Five-hundred and other provinces under the Western Cālukya

1. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 103, p. 74.

monarch Vikramāditya VI.¹ Jayakeśi II, we may incidentally observe, was called *Koṇkaṇa-Cakravarti*, or the Emperor of the Koṇkanas.² Through the aid of Noḷamba, whose full name is not given in the epigraph dated about A.D. 1078, the Seven Koṇkanas became like bracelets (*Kaṇkaṇa*) to the same Western Cālukya Emperor Trailokyamalla Vikramāditya VI.³ Vijaya Pāṇḍya Deva is described in records dated A.D. 1166 and A.D. 1168 to have subdued the Seven Koṇkanas as if in mere sport.⁴

The Seven Koṇkanas were conquered by the famous Hoysala ruler Viṣṇuvardhana Bittiga Deva. This is related in later inscriptions ranging from A.D. 1196 to A.D. 1224, of the times of the Hoysala rulers Ballāla Deva II and Narasiṃha Deva II. It is said in these epigraphs that when Bittiga Deva appeared as a wrestler (*jattiga*) on the battle field, the Seven Koṇkanas cast away their weapons and fell into the sea.⁵

Even in A.D. 1396 Bācana Rāya, son of Vīra Vasaṇta Mādhava, under the Vijayanagara king Harihara Rāya II, is called the reducer of the Seven Koṇkanas.⁶

We may here observe that the fame of the Seven Koṇkaṇas went far beyond the limits of Karnāṭaka king-

1 *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R A S* IX. p 265; Fleet, *Dyn Kan. Dist* p 91. (1st ed)

2. Fleet, *ibid*

3. *E. C.* VII , Sk. 107, p 79

4. *Ibid*, XI. Dg 5 & 39, pp. 25-6, 49.

5. *Ibid*.. VI Tk 42, Tk. 45, pp. 109-110 , *ibid*, XI Dg 25, p. 34.

The Seven Konkanas are also mentioned in A D 1223. *My. Inscr* p 32.

6. *E. C.* VII HI. 71, p 173.

doms; and that like the rulers of the western and southern India, who were credited with the subjugation of the Sapta Koṅkanas, the kings of the extreme north were also reputed to have conquered them. Thus Kalhana in his *Rājataranginī*, while describing the *digvijaya* or world-conquest of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of the Karkoṭa dynasty, writes thus :—"Then having his triumphal cheers sounded by the music of the ocean waves, he, the first (*apas'cima*) of conquerors, proceeded to the western regions. His shining majesty, on reaching the Seven Koṅkanas, dark with betel-nut trees, appeared like that of the sun with his (seven) horses."¹

Kalhana gives us a clue to the explanation of the term Sapta Koṅkana. The splendour of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, who was bent on conquering the Seven Koṅkanas, appeared like the glory of the sun with his seven horses. In other words, that ruler of Kāśmīra is described to have undertaken the conquest of seven imaginary territories of western India, in much the same manner as many a Karnāṭaka king, with no doubt substantial claims for widespread conquests both in the Karnāṭaka and Tamil lands, is supposed to have subdued the Sapta Koṅkanas. The truth seems to be that the term Sapta Konkaṇa was purely conventional. It was used in as wide and unhistorical a sense as the expression the Seven Gaudas over which Kannara Deva is said to have ruled in A.D. 964; the Seven Male over

1. *Rājataranginī*, IV., 158-9, pp 136,142 (Stein's trans. Westminster, 1900)

which, as is narrated in an inscription dated A.D. 1024, Vira Nolamba reigned; the Seven Male and the Seven Kombu which were subdued by Viṣṇuvardhana Bittiga Deva, as records dated A.D. 1134 and A.D. 1135 inform us; the Seven Islands in the middle of the ocean which are said to have trembled before Hoysala Narasiṃha I, as given in an epigraph dated A.D. 1169; and the Seven Kaliṅgas which were conquered, according to the Tamil historical narrative *Kaḷiṅgattu Parani*, by the king of Vaindānagara, the Pallava feudatory of the Cola king.¹ We have elsewhere proved how significant the number Seven has been in the history of eastern thought.² The attempt made by Fleet, therefore, to include the Hayve or Payve Five Hundred (roughly modern North Kanara), the Konkana Nine Hundred (modern Goa, which, however, he identifies with Revatī Dvīpa!) the Iridige country (modern Sāvaṇtavādī State and the Ratnāgiri districts),

1 E. C. XI. Hl 30, p. 119, *ibid*, XII. Gb 34, p. 24; *Śravana Belgola Ins.*, No 144, p. 187 (1st ed.), *My. Archl. Rept.* for 1929, p. 137; E. C., VI. Kd. 51, p. 11, I. A XIX. pp. 334-6 The seven islands, the seven mountain chains, the seven days, the seven planets, and the seven horses of the sun are mentioned in a record of A. D. 1174. E. C. VII Sk. 236, p. 135.

2 Cf. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I. pp. 123-4 See also *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI. Khaṇḍa, 1 Adhyāya, 1 Brāhmaṇa, p. 144 (SBE Vol. III) where Indra or Prājapati is described to be composed of seven parts See also *Raghuvamśa*, I. 58. 68, XIII. 51. The number Seven has also been important in Buddhist literature Read Cowell, *The Jātaka*, V. p. 167, VI. p. 200. The following references may also be read. *QJMS*, XV, pp. 116-24; XVI, pp. 263-83, XVIII, pp. 30-45, 94-105.

the Koṅkana Fourteen Hundred (of the northern Śīlahāras, now represented by Kolābā and Thāna), and the Lāṭa country (which, according to Fleet, was the name given to Surat and Baroda) under the mythological denomination of Seven Koṅkanas seems to be both arbitrary as well as unhistorical ¹

5. REFERENCES TO TUḶUVA IN THE EPICS AND THE PURĀṆAS

The above explanation of the term Sapta Koṅkaṇa does not aid us in the history of Tuluva. All that we may venture to suggest is that in the early days when the recollection of a huge upheaval of the ocean was within the memory of mankind, Tuluva must have existed as a separate geographical division; and that it must have been of sufficient importance to have been included among the alleged creations of Jāmadagnya.² The absence of the term Sapta Koṅkana in inscriptions of the ninth century and earlier, and the silence which Kālidāsa, for instance, maintains as regards the sup-

1. Fleet, *Bombay Gaz.*, I. P II p 283, (n) In the same note he says that the subject is capable of further elucidation, especially if the Konkana is held to have extended beyond the Malabar district. The divisions, then, according to Fleet, would be —1 Travancore and Cochin, 2. Malabar, 3 South Kanara, 4. North Kanara, 5. Goa, 6 Ratnāgiri, and 7 Kolābā, Thāna and Surat. As against this, we may note the following. In the first place, no inscription or tradition extends the Konkan beyond Malabar. Secondly, the inscriptions hitherto discovered have never enlightened us on this purely hypothetical division. B. A. S.

2. On Paraśurāma's story, read, Rice, *My. Gaz*, I. pp. 275-6 (1st ed.), I. A, III. p. 191; Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, I. pp 9, 57.

posed seven divisions of a province the legendary origins of which, as we have narrated, he seems to have noted, prove beyond doubt that the story of the Sapta Koṅkaṇas may have originated after the times of Kālidāsa; and that it received a tangible shape when the brilliant conquests of the Karnāṭaka monarchs in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. and onwards, gave ample scope to scribes and panegyric writers to dwell on the number Seven and to apply it to many of the provinces of southern and western India

But it must be confessed that Tuḷuva does not figure either in the *Rāmāyana* or in the *Mahābhārata* as a district of political importance; and that even in some of the *Purāṇas*, as will be seen presently, no mention is made of its individual existence at all. We may account for this by saying that in the times of the epics, the Tuḷuvās, while they had made themselves acquainted with their neighbours the Karnāṭaka people, had not acquired any political status worthy of note; and that some of the writers of the *Purāṇas* were evidently ignorant of the activities of the Tuḷuvās whose country, as will be shown at once, was not devoid of places of pilgrimage of considerable antiquity. One of these was Gokarna which, as we have already seen, was one of the seventeen *Tīrthas* established by Paraśurāma within the limits of Tuḷuva. It was at Gokarna that, according to tradition, the image which Rāvaṇa brought from the mountain called "Coilā", with the intention of carrying it off to Laṅkā,

got transfixed at the place where it now stands.¹ Another spot is Pātāḷa-Laṅkā which, as Rice remarked, was in Kanara.² It is doubtful whether this is to be identified with Vaḷa-Laṅkā (Vala-Lanke), a suburb of Mūlki in Tuḷuva.³ The hill Kuñjāragiri located in the south in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and hitherto unidentified,⁴ was no other than the Kuñjāragiri spoken of above as a holy place near Uḍipi, associated with the memories of Paraśurāma. It is mentioned in the *Bṛhatsamhitā* as a *des'a* but under a slightly different name Kuñjaradari, and located in the same work after Kaccha and before Tāmraparna.⁵ The evidence of *Bṛhatsamhitā* agrees with that of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* to be cited presently.

Certain names of rivers, hill-tops, and places mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* bear a strong similarity to those found in Tuḷuva. In the topographical list given in the *Bhīṣma Parva*, a people called Utūlus are mentioned after the Abhisāras and before the Saivalas. We do not know whether this name has to be referred to the Tuḷus. Neither are we

1. Buchanan, *A Journey.*, III p. 166 ; Burgess-Cousens, *Revised List of Antiquities*, pp. 190-191.

2. Rice, *My Gaz.*, I. p. 183.

3. Vaḷa-Lanke is one of the seventy-seven islands which, according to Tuḷuva tradition, formed a part of the Ghorāṣṭra mentioned above Cf. Hegde, *Caritre*, p. 41. Was Vala-Lanke a corruption of Vūḷāyida-Lanke which in Tuḷu means " Within Lanke" ? B. A. S.

4. *Rāmāyaṇa* Kīśk-kānda, XL. v. 35, p. 166. (Bombay, 1911), *Mark. Pur.* p. 367, n.

5. *Bṛhatsamhitā*, Ch. XIV. v. 16, p. 51 (Calcutta, 1880). It is also mentioned by Alberuni, *India*, I. p. 301. (rev. ed.)

in a position to assert whether the Prācyas placed after the Keraḷas and before the Mūṣikas in the same *Parvā*, were in any way connected with the Tulus.¹ Among the *seven kula parvatas* described in the same list, we have of course Sahya, the eastern boundary of Tuḷuva. The Kumārī river mentioned after the Vṛṣasābhayā and before Ṛṣikulyā in the same context bears a strong resemblance to the Kumārī (Kumārādhārī) of Tuḷuva,² although it must be admitted that there are greater reasons for identifying it with its namesake in Bihār:³ The Kumārī is mentioned in the *Agni* and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purānas*, too, where it is said to rise in the Śuktimān mountains.⁴ The *Padma Purāna* likewise speaks of it but in manner to justify one's doubt that there may have been some confusion in the mind of the compilers of the *Purānas* between the rivers that flowed in the north and those in the south. For the *Padma Purāna*, following the *Bhīṣma Parva*, no doubt, locates the Kumārī after the Vṛṣasā (ka) and before Ṛṣikulyā, in the north. But the same *Purāṇa* groups the Kumārī and the Sukumārī together with the Mahānadi and the Sītā, and describes them as flowing in the S'aka-dvīpa.⁵

1-2. *Bhīṣma Parva*, Sec. IX. pp. 29-30.

3. Dey identifies the Kumārī and the Sukumārī with the Kaorharī which rises in the Śuktimat in the Bihār subdivision near Rajgir. *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 107 (2nd ed. London, 1927).

4. *Agni Purāna*, Ch. 118, v. 7, p. 162. (Poona, 1900); *Mark-Pur* pp. 305-6.

5. *Padma Purāna*, Vol. I, Ch. VI. v. 31, p. 9; Ch. VIII. vv. 30-31, p. 12. (Poona, 1893).

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* too places the Kumārī in the same *dvīpa* but mentions another river—the Nalīnī which recalls the Nalīnī of Tuḷuva.¹ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* and the *Matsya Purāṇa* likewise mention the Kumārī but under the name Sukumārī.²

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* mentions Indrakīla which is the ancient name of Aḍūru, a village seventeen miles east of Kāsaragōḍu, where there is an old sculptured Śiva temple fabled to have been founded by Arjuna. It is now in ruins but is said to have been repaired about five hundred years ago.³ According to Tuḷuva tradition, Manipura, an island which lies on the way from Uḍipī to Haṅgārakatta, is said to have been the Manipura which Arjuna visited on his way from

1. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II, pp. 127, 176. If the word *dvīpa* is to be interpreted in the sense of a *doab* as suggested by Pargiter, (*Mārk Pur* p. 364, n.), and if the Śaka-dvīpa could be identified with Tuluva, which, we confess, is a question that is beset with considerable difficulties, one may venture to say that the seven rivers of the Śaka-dvīpa—the Sukumārī, the Kumārī, the Nalīnī, the Dhenukā, the Iksū, the Venukā, and the Gabhastī—bear much resemblance, as to their names, to the seven rivers of Tuluva—the Netrāvati (which is joined by the Kumārī below the Ghats), the Śāmbhavī, the Malāpah, the Sitā, the Nalīnī, the Nandīnī, and the Śuktimatī. But this is a purely hypothetical consideration. B A S

2. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ch. XLIV. v 108, p. 138 (Poona, 1905); *Matsya Purāṇa*, P. I, Ch. CXIV. 20-32, p. 308

3. Wilson located Indrakīla on Rāmagiri. *Asiatic Researches*, VIII. p. 334, *Orient Magazine*, II. p. 186 seq.; Srinivasa Hegde, *Carite*, p. 264, Sewell, *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, I. p. 238. But Indrakīla is also the name of the hill in Bezvada where Arjuna's fight with Śiva, disguised as a Kirāta, took place. A stone inscription ascribed to the ninth century A. D. confirms this. *Ep. Rep. of the Southern Circle* for 1916, p. 149.

Mahendra in the south, while going to Gokarna in the north.¹ About a mile and a half to the east of Udipi lies the village of Indrāṇi, also known as Indrallī. The *sthaḷa mātmya* of this locality says that Arjuna spent a few days here and was carried aloft to Amarāvati by Indra. Hence the name Indrallī (Indra-hallī). The above places which are supposed to have been visited by Arjuna leave out of account numerous stones, caves, and wells alleged to have been constructed by the Pāṇḍavas in the course of their exile.²

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, however, speaks of three important hill tops of Tuluva: Puṣpagiri, Kūṭasāila, and Kuñjāra (giri). The Puspagiri located in that work after Paṇḍara and before Durjayanta may be identified with Puṣpagiri (5,667 feet high), on which stands the famous temple of Subrahmanya in Tuḷuva.³

1. *Ādi Parva*, Ch. CCXIX, pp. 601-2. There is also a Manipura in Kalinga and another one in Mysore. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, pp. 403-4; *E I*, IV. p. 340. Manipura was the ancient name of Bhaṭkal. Burgess-Cousens, *Revised List*, p. 194.

2. As, for instance, the Pāṇḍava caves at Kadri, near Mangalore; the collection of five *Tirthas* in the temple of Someśvara at Ullāla, four miles and a half south of Mangalore, Ulūpe at the foot of the Ghats which, according to some, was so named after Ulūpi, the daughter of the Nāga king, and the wife of Arjuna. B. A. S.

3. Pargiter, *Mark. Pur.*, pp. 284, 290; Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, I. pp. 11-12, II. p. 271; Vogel, *Serpent Lore in India*, pp. 272-3; *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, p. 115; *I. A.*, VII. p. 42. There is also a Puspagiri in the Cuddappah district. *E I*. III. p. 24; Bowring, *Eastern Experiences*, p. 89 (Lond. 1872). This Puṣpagiri is mentioned in the above list in the *Mark. Pur.* by its common name Śrīparvata, and hence it is very unlikely that it would have been twice named in

In the same *Purāna* mention is made of Kūṭaśaila after Gomanta and before Krtasmāra.¹ This was no other than the well known hill top Kūṭaśaila, also called as Kuḍaśādrī (4,400 feet), seventeen miles from Kundāpūru.² The same work locates the people of Kañci, the Tilangas (Telungus? Tulungus?), and those who dwell in Kuñjaradarī, Kaccha (Cochin?), and Tāmraparni in the Tortoise's right flank.³ The mount Kuñjara referred to here is no doubt the same hill we have mentioned above as being one of the famous hills near Uḍipī on which the temple of Renukā stands, and as having been mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bṛhatsamhitā*. We may also note here that one of the rivers described in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna* may perhaps with some reservations be identified with its namesake

the same context. Our identification of Puspagiri with the hill-top of that name in Tuluva is, therefore, fully justified. The Pandara referred to in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna* was no other than the hillock on which the celebrated temple of Viṭṭhala in Paṇḍharpur stands. This justifies my identification of Pandarādrī mentioned in the Pāṇḍarangapallī plates of king Avidheya. Read the *Antiquity of Pandharpur*, I. H. Q. XI. pp. 771-778 B. A. S.

1 *Mark. Pur.*, p. 290.

2. Sturrock, *ibid*, I. pp. 11-12. Bowring gives 4, 111 feet as the height of Kodaśādrī. *Eastern Experiences*, p. 133. We may note here that there is another Kūṭaśaila, also known as Kōṭyamale or Kōḍyamale, in Kārañje, about eight miles east of Banṭwāl in Tuḷuva. How the famous group of hills in Tuluva—Kudremukh or Kōṭekān (6,173 feet), Midge Point (6,177 feet), and Funk Hill (6,207 feet), were known to the compilers of the *Purānas*, cannot be made out. On these read Sturrock, *ibid*, pp. 11-12. Bowring gives the height of Kudremukh as 6,100 feet. Bowring, *ibid*, p. 151.

3. *Mark Pur.* p. 367.

in Tuluva. This is the Śuktimatī.¹ It may be identified with the Śuktimatī of Tuluva, also known as the Gaṅgavāḍi or the Gaṅgoḷḷi or the Gurget.² It flows by S'aṅkaranārāyana, and is called further down Hālāḍi Hole.

The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāna* also mentions the Kūtas'aila after Kūtaka and before Tuṅgaprasta, and the Pūṣpagiri after Hariparvata and before Jayanta; while the *Vāyu Purāna* locates the Kūtas'aila after Kāru, and Puṣpagiri after Godhanagiri and before Ujjayanta.³

In all likelihood the river Payosnī placed after the Vitastā and before the Devikā in the *Bhīṣma Parva* was the Payasvānī or Candragiri river or Tuluva.⁴ The *Padma Purāna* evidently follows the *Bhīṣma Parva* when it locates the Payosnī after the Vitastā and before the Devikā. But the same *Purāna* places the Payosnī after

1. *Mārķ. Pur*, pp 297-8. Pargiter identified the Śuktimatī with the Śuktimatī on which stood the capital of Cedi. On the Śuktimān mountain which Cunningham identified with the hill range south of Sehoa and Kānker, read, *Arch. Sur. of India*, XVII. pp. 24, 69. Here Cunningham also identifies the Śuktimatī with the Mahānadi. But in the *Bhīṣma Parva* the Śuktimatī is located after the Mahānadi and before the Anangā. *Bhīṣma Parva*, IX. p. 31. Pargiter rejected the identification of the hill-top Śuktimat as given by Cunningham. *Mārķ. Pur* p. 285, n. According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar the Śuktimān mountains are the Suleman range in the Hindu Kus group. *Proceedings of the Second All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 609-612.

2 Cf. Aygal, *Dakṣiṇa Kannaḍa Jilleya Prācīna Itihāsa*, p. 2; Sturrock, *S C Manual*, I. p. 12

3. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāna* in *Asiatic Researches*, VIII. p. 334, *Vāyu Purāna*, Ch. 45, v. 92, p. 137. (Poona, 1900).

4. *Bhīṣma Parva*, IX. pp. 29-30.

the S'arāvati and before the Bhīmā,¹ thus justifying our assumption that the Payosnī was perhaps meant for the Payasvānī of Tuḷuva. But the *Matsya Purāna* describes it as flowing from the Vindhya mountain.² Whatever may be the difficulty in our identification of this river, we see that the name Payoṣnī and Payasvānī bear close resemblance to each other.

The *Bhaviṣyottara Purāna* has a long account to give of the origin of the longest river of Tuḷuva, the Netrāvati. It is said that when once the powerful giant Hiraṇyākṣa carried away the earth to Pātāla or the nether regions, the gods in fear ran to Viṣṇu who was then living in the Śveta-dvīpa. In order to appease the gods, Viṣṇu took the shape of a boar, killed the giant and saved the world. When He was resting on the Veda Pāda Parvata, the right tusk of the boar broke and there gushed forth the river Bhadrā. From the left tusk, which was longer than the other, there sprang the sister river Tuṅgā. Simultaneously a third stream issued from the eyes of the boar, and this was the Netrāvati. The two former taking different courses, unite in the east at Kūḍali, running thenceforth under the name of Tuṅgabhadrā. While the third one—the Netrāvati—goes in the opposite direction below the

1. *Padma Purāna*, Vol. I. Ch. VI. v. 13, 16. p. 8.

2. *Matsya Purāna*, P. I. Ch. IV. vv. 2032, p. 308 (Taluqdar). The *Agni Purāna* however calls it Payoṣnikā and places it after the Tāpī and before Godāvarī flowing from the Sahya. Ch. VII. v. 118, p. 162.

Ghats, and unites with the Kumārī river mentioned above.¹

6. CLAIMS OF TUḤUVA TO ANTIQUITY

Not till we come to the epigraphical records of the Karnāṭaka kings of the early centuries of the Christian era, and to the accounts of foreign geographers of the same period, do we get any reliable data concerning the existence of Tuḥuva as an independent political unit. Before we deal with this part of the narrative, we may dispense with the attempts made by some to identify Tuḥuva with one of the principalities given in the Rock Edicts of Aśoka. In the II. Rock Edict at Gīrṇar, and in the II. Rock Edict at Kālsi, the name Satiyaputa is mentioned after the Pāṇḍyas and before the Ketalaputa (Keralaputa).²

Speculation has been rife as regards this word Satiyaputa. It has been imagined by some that the Satiyaputa mentioned in the Rock Edicts refers to Tuḥuva under the alleged name of Satyabhūmi. Some have attempted to connect the word Satiyaputa with

1 *Bhavisyottara Purāṇa* cited in *I. A.*, I. pp. 212-3. It is interesting to observe in this connection that both the rivers Tungā and Bhadrā take their rise in the same tract, *viz.*, in the extreme west of Mysore, about 250 miles as the crow flies from Bangalore. This place is called Gangāmūla. It is held sacred by the people. Now, this Gangāmūla is exactly the same spot where the Suvarṇā river of Tuḥuva—which flowing past Puttige towards the east is called the Varāhanadī—is said to originate. This locality is also known as Guruguṇjemūla, B. A. S.

2. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pp. 18, 29, seq.

the Śātvatas who are supposed to have occupied Tuluva.¹

Wherever else the Satiyaputa of the Rock Edicts may be located, it cannot be identified with Tuḷuva. We shall see while dealing with the political history of the district, that the supposed identity of the Sātvatas (and of the Cutus) with the rulers of the district does not rest on any historical grounds

Now, in regard to the other statement that the Satiyaputa of the Rock Edicts was the same as the Satyabhūmi of the early writers, and that it may be equated with Tuluva, we may observe the following:—On the strength of the Tamil classic *Ahnānūru* and the *S'ilappadikāram*,² which are said to be the products of the so-called Śaṅgham age, it is asserted that Tuḷunādu was a separate province in the early centuries of the Christian era. In the *Aham* (294) the Tulunāḍu is located to the west of the Erumaināḍu (Skt. Mahisa-maṇḍala) which lay immediately to the north of Tamila-gam or the Tamil country proper. The *Aham* (24), as the anthology of erotic subjects said to have been compiled by Uruttirasamman, under the patronage of the Pāṇḍya king Ugrapperuvuludi, is called, also informs

1. Cf. Saletore, *Indian Culture*, I. pp. 667-674. The following may also be read in addition to the references given in *ibid*, p. 667, n. (1):—Bühler, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XXXVII, p. 98, seq.; Bhandarkar, *J. Bomb. R.A.S.* XX. p. 398, (N.S.); Burgess identified Satiyaputa with Telingana. *Amaravati Stupa*, p. 3.

2. I am indebted to my friend V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar for these references in the *Al* . . . B. A. S.

us that the Tuḷu country was occupied by the Kośars. From the epithet given to the Kośar in the Śaṅgham works, viz., that they were addicted to the habit of speaking the truth, it is supposed that they can be identified with the Satiya (Satya) putas of the Aśokan Edicts. The Kośars, who attended the installation of the goddess Pattani by the Cera king Śeṅguṭṭuvan, as mentioned in the *S'īlappadikāram*, are imagined to have been the inhabitants of Tuḷuva. Since these events are assigned to the second century A. D., it is conjectured that Tuḷuva at that time was a separate political division having friendly dealings with the Tamil kingdoms.¹

These attractive arguments deserve to be examined not only on the basis of the epigraphs and tradition concerning Tuḷuva but also with the aid of the very classical works which are assigned to the Śaṅgham age in Tamil history. To start with, it may be said that the age of the Śaṅgham poets itself is by no means a settled question.² Apart from this consideration, it is

1. It is also asserted that Nannan, who is mentioned in *Aham* (13) as having been invited by the Kosar, and as having lost his State elephant, ruled over South Kanara and North Kanara in the middle of the second century A. D. S. K. Aiyangar, *I. A.*, LIV, pp. 37-8; *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, p. 323. Kanakasabhai maintains that Māmulunār, who is supposed to have lived between A. D. 100-130, visited Tuluva! *The Tamils 1800 years ago*, p. 198. B.A.S.

2. This point will be discussed at some length in the writer's forthcoming work on Buddhism. For the present, read Dr. Barnett, *Journal of Indian History*, III. p. 137, seq. See also Fleet, *JRAS* for 1910, p. 429; *QJMS*. III. p. 60.

doubtful whether the nine poets, who are said to have made up the galaxy of the Śaṅgham age, lived at one and the same time. Moreover it is permissible to question the validity of the statement of those who assign the first or the second century A. D. to the Śaṅgham poets, on the strength of the Tamil classic *S'ilappadikāram*. If the Cera king Śēṅguttuvan mentioned in the *S'ilappadikāram* is the same Cera king of Vañji, the great Śēṅguttuvan, who is represented in the other Tamil gem *Manimekhalai* as having reduced all the land to the same condition as that of his own hill territory, who is said to have marched at the head of his army up the banks of the Ganges, and who celebrated victories by wearing the garland of *vāhai*, then, it is doubtful whether the *S'ilappadikāram* can be assigned to the first or the second century A. D., and whether the statement made in it referring to the Kośars, and, therefore, to the supposed occupation of Tuḷuva by those people, can be given much credence. For the *S'ilappadikāram* would then have to be placed posterior to the *Manimekhalai*, the date of which itself is still a matter of dispute. This would bring the age of the *S'ilappadikāram* to about A. D. 756.¹ If this age is accepted, we cannot credit the Kośars with the occupation of Tuḷuva, since in the seventh century A. D., the Tuḷuvas had risen into prominence under an indigenous royal family.

1. This is the date assigned to it by the late Swamikannu Pillai. Read *Epigraphical Report of the Southern Circle* for 1919, p. 92.

Turning to the verse 294 of the *Aham* which speaks of Tuḷunāḍu as having been to the west of Erumaināḍu which some identify with Mysore, we may observe that there is no evidence to prove that in the early centuries of the Christian era, Mysore was ever called by that name.¹ Since the poets of the Śaṅgham age do not speak of the earlier names by which the more famous parts of the Karnāṭaka country were known—e. g., Kalabappu (mod. Candragiri hill), Punnāṭa, Kuṇṭala, etc.—, we may dispense with the assertion that the Mahiṣamandala refers to Mysore in the first or second century A. D. Hence, the assertion made in verse 294 of the *Aham* is not of much value for determining the antiquity of Tuḷuva.

We now come to the third argument based on the statements of the writers of the Śaṅgham age, viz., that the Kośars, who were given to the habit of speaking the truth, occupied Tuluva; that the land hence came to be known as Satyabhūmi or the country of truth speaking people, and that this was no other than the Satiyaputa of the Aśokan Edicts. These arguments seem to be plausible, especially when we take into consideration the explanation of the term Satiyaputa

1. Cf. Saletore, *Social and Political Life*, I p. 40, n. (2). See also *E. I.*, IV. p. 58, n. (2). We cannot conceive of Aśoka sending two missionaries—Thera Mahādeva and Thera Rakkhita,—the former of whom was despatched to Mahiṣamandala, the latter to Vanavāsi,—as given in the *Mahāvamso* (Geiger-Bode, *Mahāvamso*, p. 84) to one and the same country. The efforts of Rice to identify Mahiṣamandala with Mysore (*My. & Coorg*, p. 14, and *ibid.*, n. (17)), seem to be, therefore, futile. B. A. c

offered by Drs Lüders and Przyluski, viz, that the Pāli *putta* (Skt. *putra*) at the end of compounds frequently means "belonging to a tribe", and that the Śātvas were the Śātakarnis.¹ This would mean that Tuluva was the land inhabited by the Śātvas (Śātakarnis). It may also be argued that the Satiya-puta of the Rock Edicts is precisely the word Satya-putra occurring in the code of the legendary Tuluva lawgiver Bhutāla Pāṇḍya, who is supposed to have lived in the first or second century of the Christian era, and to whom the law of inheritance through the female is ascribed. Further, it may also be suggested that one of the earliest inhabitants of Tuluva were the Koragars who are well known for their truthfulness, and whose word has become proverbial.²

These arguments, if considered sound, would settle once for all the question of the antiquity of Tuluva as an independent political unit in the early centuries A. D. But they are untenable on the following grounds:—The Koragars, who may be credited with the ownership of the land in Tuluva in some remote period of her history, were no doubt a tribe noted for their honesty and straight dealing. But, as we have shown elsewhere, the Koragars of Tuluva formed a branch of a wild tribe spread over the whole of

1. Lüders, *ZDMG* LVIII, p. 693, seq.; Przyluski, *JRAS* for 1929, p. 273, seq.; *IHQ*, IX, pp. 88-91; *J. Andhra H. R. Society*, IV, p. 49, seq.

2. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, III, p. 424.

India.¹ The habit of speaking the truth is shared no doubt by the Koragars along with other aboriginal people who do not figure in this treatise. Moreover, the Koragars do not seem ever to have been called Kośars at all in their folk-songs. Further, there is no agreement among scholars as to where the Kośars settled. According to some, the Kośars lived in the Koṅgunāḍu which corresponds roughly to the modern Coimbatore and Salem districts. Tuḥuva was never in any period of her history part of the Koṅgudeśa. And it cannot be that the Kośars inhabited both the Koṅgudeśa and Tuḥuva at the same time, since that would have given them some sort of political status which would have left its traces in history or legend. But the history of Tuḥuva is silent in regard to this point.

As regards the story of Bhutāla Pāṇḍya, we shall see in the course of this treatise that the story relating to him cannot be assigned to such an early age at all.

Finally, it may be asserted that in none of the epigraphical records of Tuḥuva is there the slightest reference either to the name Satyabhūmi or Kośar or Śātavata or Śātakarṇi. We shall presently see that Tuḥuva was under a powerful indigenous dynasty which has left valuable records behind it.

We conclude, therefore, that much reliance cannot be placed on the occupation of Tuḥuva by the Kośars in the early centuries of Christian era. It is nevertheless evident that when the Tamil writers wrote their

1. Cf. Saletore, *The Wild Tribes*, p. 43, op. cit..

anthologies, the name of Tuḷuva had spread far into the Tamil land.¹ Indeed, the traditions of the Tondaimaṇḍalam refer to the colonization of some parts of that country by the Tuḷuva Vellālers in the days of Kulottuṅga Coḷa Deva and of his son Ādonḍaḷ Cakravarti.² But these activities of the Tuḷu people refer to the tenth and the eleventh centuries A.D., when they had already become conspicuous in the annals of both the Tamil and the Karnāṭaka lands.

Foreign geographers are more informative than the Śaṅgham authors concerning the important kingdom and ports in Tuḷuva in the early centuries A. D. We may venture to suggest here that if the evidence of the Greek-Kannada Farce discovered so far back as 1899 at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, and given at the end of this narrative, could be accepted, we should have a further proof of the importance of Tuluva in the history of India. It has been rightly maintained that the Barace of Pliny (A. D. 23–A. D. 79) was no other than Basarūru, the Barcelore of mediaeval days.³ Ptolemy (middle

1. On the history of the Kongudeśa, read *Epigraphical Report of the Southern Circle* for 1906, pp. 59–61, *ibid*, for 1911, p. 77. Read also Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils*, p. 51.

2. Wilson, *Mack. Coll.*, I. pp. LXXXIII–LXXXIV, Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar*, p. 36 (1875)

3. Bostock-Riley, *Pliny*, I. Intr. p. vii; II. pp. 38, seq., 46 seq., Newbold, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, X. V. p. 226; Sewell, *Lsts.* I. p. 230, Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, II. p. 242. But in Vol. I. p. 56, Sturrock doubts it. This town, we may incidentally observe, is said to derive its name from a ruler called Vibudhavasū. But he lived in A.D. 1244, as will be shown hereafter. On Basarūru, see *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 45 where it is said that town received its name from a fig tree.

of the 2nd century A. D.) speaks of a town called Maganur in the midst of the false mouth and the Barios.¹ What the latter word Barios stands for, it is difficult to say. But the false mouth (of the river) evidently refers to the dangerous place where the Netrāvati meets the sea, and Maganur was no doubt Maṅgalūru.

This was the same Mangarouth which Kosmos Indikopleustes, a merchant who adhered "strictly to truth", and who was the author of *Christian Topography* (middle of the sixth century A. D.), mentions as having been one of the five ports of what he calls "Male".² Elliot writes of Casiri as quoting a Ms. in which Mangalore is mentioned at the beginning of the seventh century A. D.³

1. Ptolemy, cited in *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 552. Nitrias, a port mentioned by Pliny, was thought to have been the same as the Netrāvati. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 111 (Lond. 1901). But Nitrias has also been identified with Bangkok, in North Kanara. *Fleet, Bombay Gaz.*, I P. II. p. 2.

2. McCrindle, *ibid.*, p. 161. Mangalore, we may observe, had risen to prominence by this time. It is mentioned in a grant assigned to A.D. 444. *Rice, Mys. Insc.*, p. 297. The statement that a queen named Maṅgalā Devi built the town in the 4th century A.D. (Kavali Venkaṭarāmasvāmi, *Descriptive Sketches of the Cities of the Dekkan* p. 31, [1831]), is wrong. No such name is known to history. We shall see that the town of Mangalore owed its origin to Buddhist influence. It is spoken of in A.D. 968 and again in A.D. 1151. *E. C. VIII*, Sb. 464, Sb. 465, p. 78. B. A. S.

3. Elliot-Dawson, *History of India as told by her own Historians*, I. p. 68, n. (4).

One of the most well known ports in Tuluva was Bārakūru, called Fakanūr and Bārakanūru.¹ This, it must be confessed, is not mentioned by the Greek geographers. It may be due to the fact that, as we shall see later on when we shall trace its history, Bārakūru came into prominence both as a commercial centre and as a provincial seat of the local rulers only from the eleventh century A. D. onwards.

While dealing with the inland towns of a people whom he calls pirates, Ptolemy speaks of Oloikhora.² This has been rightly identified with Ālvakheḍa, the annals of which now deserve to be described in detail.

1. *Ibid*, p. 68. See also Elliot, *JRAS* for 1870, pp 342-45.

2. McCrindle, *I A.*, XIII p. 367, Rice, *My & Coorg* p. 137. Ptolemy mentions a town called Byzantion. McCrindle, *I A.*, XIII. p. 327 Fleet identified it with Vijayadurga in the Ratnāgiri district. *Dyn Kan. Dist.* p. 8. n (3). We may note that, according to Tuluva tradition, Kundāpūru in northern Tuluva is also called Jayantipura or Jayantikā. Taylor, *Oriental Hist. Mss.* II. p. 59. Jayanti-dvipa was one of the creations of Paraśurāma in Tuluva. Hegde, *Caritre*, p. 42. Alberuni speaks of a Banavāsi on the sea coast *India.*, I. p. 202 (Sachau, London, 1888). Banavāsi is called Jayantipura and Varjayanti in inscriptions Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, pp. 14, 21-3.

CHAPTER II

THE ĀLUPA DYNASTY

Summary :—1. Antiquity of the Ālupa dynasty. 2. Derivation of the name Ālupa and rejection of the fallacious theories concerning the Dravidian origin of the name and of their alleged trans-Ghat habitation. 3. Early Ālupas Māramma Ālvarasar, Kundavarvarasa I; Āluva Gunasāgara; Citravāhana I. 4. Civil war in Udayāvara Citravāhana I vs Ranasāgara; the latter vs Svetavāhana; the latter vs Prthvīsāgara, Vijayāditya Ālupendra. 5. Citravāhana II, Ālva Ranañjaya, Dattālpendra Śrīmāra; Kundavarvarasa II, Bankideva Ālupendra I. 6. Mediaeval Ālupas Height of the Ālupa power-Udayādityarasa; Pāṇḍya Paṭṭiṅga Deva, Bhujaḃala Kavi Ālupendra; (Sevyaḃellara); Ālupa Jagadeva, Kuḃaśekhara Deva I, Nūrmmaḃi Cakravarti; Vibudhavasuv, Vira Pāṇḃya Deva Ālupendra, Nāḃa Deva-rasa, Bankideva Ālupendra Deva II. 7. The later Ālupas and the Beginning of the Decline of the Ālupa Power Soyideva Ālupendra, Vira Kuḃaśekhara Deva II, Vira Pāṇḃya Deva II, Kuḃaśekhara Deva III, Vira Pāṇḃya Deva III, Kuḃaśekhara Deva IV. 8. Some chieftains Kāntana Māra Āluva; Dēvannarasa, Mañjana Komna. 9. Unidentified Ālupa monarchs Kavi Vimalāditya, Kumāra Jayasīḃgarasa, Kuḃaśekhara. 10. Features of Administration under the Ālupas the King and his officials; Capitals; Municipal Corporations; Rural administration, Social solidarity; Army; and Taxation.

1. ANTIQUITY OF THE ĀLUPA DYNASTY

The Ālupa dynasty controlled the destiny of Tuḃu-
vanāḃu from the early centuries of the Christian era
till the middle ages. There cannot be any doubt that
it was a family of considerable antiquity. It was a
premature and partially correct statement which

Hultzsch made when he wrote that Ālupa kings existed as a ruling family from the seventh to the eleventh century of the Christian era ¹ In stating thus he took into consideration the references to the Ālupa kings only from the times of the Western Cālukya monarch Pulikeśin II ² But their kingdom is mentioned, as will be presently stated, in a record of Pulikeśin II's uncle and predecessor king Maṅgaleśa. This reference to the Ālupas when taken in conjunction with the mention of Oloikhora (Āluvakheda)³ by Ptolemy and with the inclusion of the Ālupa kingdom among the Sapta Koṅkanas in the *Prapañcahṛdayam* which, as we have seen above, is no doubt a work of uncertain date, enables us nevertheless to assert that the Ālupas indeed existed as a ruling family from about the second century A.D. onwards. The Halmidi stone inscription, as will be narrated in the next chapter, definitely takes the history of the Ālupas to the fifth century A.D. A further statement which goes to prove their antiquity is, as we shall narrate anon, their having been coupled with another ancient family of the Karnāṭaka—

1-2. E I., IX. p. 15.

3. The term Āluvakheda or Ālvakheda, as it is given in some inscriptions, evidently refers to the early days of Ālupa history when the Ālupa kingdom was only a *Kheda* or *Kheta*, a territorial subdivision mentioned in Karnāṭaka epigraphical records after a *Nagara* but before a *Kharvata*. Read Saletore, *Social and Political Life*, I, p. 292. But the *Vāyu Purāna* places the *Kheṭa* before a *Nagara*. *Vāyu Purāna* Ch. VIII. vv 100, seq. p. 27 (Poona, 1905). The words Ālupa is spelt variously thus—Āḷuka, Ālupa. Ālva, Ālva and Āluva—in the inscriptions. B. A. S.

the Gaṅgas—in an inscription of the early half of the seventh century A. D. The Gaṅgas, like the Ālupas, ruled from the second century A.D., their territory being confined to the western parts of modern Mysore.¹ The claims for antiquity to which the Ālupas and the Gaṅgas are thus entitled in the above record of Pulikeśin II are further corroborated in a later record also of the seventh century which not only classes the Gaṅgas and the Ālupas together but characterizes them as ancient royal families which, as Rice correctly says, were entitled to special consideration. For this inscription also of a Western Cālukya ruler—Vinayāditya—styles the 'conquered royal families thus—*Ālava-Gaṅgādyāḥ maulaḥ samabhṛtyatām nītaḥ*.

2. THE DERIVATION OF THE NAME ĀLUPA

The assertion of the Madras Government Epigraphist (Mr. G. Venkoba Rao) that the cognomen (Ālupa) must be derived from the root *āl* (Tamil—*āl*) meaning thereby to govern, seems, in our opinion, to be both arbitrary and unhistorical.² Hultzsch, and not Fleet, as Mr. Venkoba Rao writes, was the first to give us this derivation of the word Ālupa.³ But we cannot conceive of great rulers of the Karnātaka, as for example the Western Cālukyas, characterizing the Ālupas by

1. Rice. *My. & Coorg*, p. 29. Mr. Govind Pai dates the commencement of the Ganga rule in the south to A.D. 250. *Karnātaka Historical Review*, II, p. 29.

2. *Ep. Rept. of the Southern Circle* for 1926-7, p. 106.

3. *E. I.*, IX, pp. 15-16.

the epithet *maulāḥ* and enlisting their co-operation as allies, had the Tuḷuva kings been only of inferior stock like those who traced their origin to a word signifying nothing but dependence. The erroneous nature of the argument put forward by the defenders of the above theory is apparent when we level two other considerations against it. The Dravidian derivation does not take into account the earliest variant of the name Ālupa occurring in inscriptions and the substantial evidence which both epigraphs and tradition go to prove it. And it rests on an alleged identity between the Ālupas and minor local chieftains over the Ghats who possessed a similar name.

The earliest variant of the name Ālupa is that which is given in the Mahākūṭa inscription of king Maṅgaleśa dated A.D. 601-2. This epigraph relates that Kīrtivarma I (A.D. 566-597) conquered a great many kings among whom were the Pāṇḍya, Cōliya, Āluka, and Vaijayantī.¹ The word Āluka is an epithet of Śeṣa, chief of the serpent race; and, as Fleet rightly said, it may possibly denote the Nāgas, who in

1. Fleet, *I A*, XIX pp 14, 19. Mr George Moraes gives the date of the Mahākūṭa inscription of Mangaleśa as A.D. 567. (*Kadamba-Kula*, p. 75, Bombay, 1931). This error was committed by me in my thesis (p. 298) entitled the *History of Early Tuḷuva* which secured for me the Kasinath Telang Gold Medal and Prize from the Bombay University in 1928. Mr Moraes's remarks concerning the Western Cālukyas and the Ālupas (*Kadamba-kula*, pp. 75-78, 245) are nothing but a close following of my statements (*Thesis*, pp. 265, 298-300). The present treatise is an altogether new work, and has nothing in common with the thesis except a few facts here and there. B. A. C.

early times became included in the Cālukya dominions.¹ The Nāga origin of the Ālupas which is thus suggested here is proved by two facts—the figure of a hooded serpent which is found in an effaced Ālupa stone inscription in the Gollara Gaṇapati temple at Mangalore,² and the ultra-Śaivite tendencies of which the Ālupas have given abundant proof in their inscriptions. We may incidentally remark here that there are good grounds for justifying the appellation of Aiorum Regio (Ahi-deśa) given to Tuḷuva and Haiva by Ptolemy.³

The Dravidian derivation of the name Ālupa rests on the alleged similarity between the Ālupa rulers and others who bore a similar name. Mr. Venkoba Rao says, no doubt following Hultzsch, in the same connection that the Cāṅgalvas were similarly chiefs of Caṅganāḍ and Koṅgalnāḍ in the Kannaḍa country who flourished as feudatories in mediaeval times; and

1. *Ibid* pp 14-5, Dalal, *A History of India from the Earliest Times*, I, p 206 (Bombay, 1924), Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-Eng. Dict.*, p. 130.

2. Cf. Aygal, *Dak Prācīna Itihāsa*, p 66. A passage in the *Padma Purāna* may be said to refer to the Ālupas. It runs thus :—

Kokuttakāḥ tathā Cōlah Kokanā-Manivālavāḥ |

Samāṅgāḥ Kanakāḥ-ca-eva Kukurāṅgāra Māriṣāḥ ||

Padma Purāna, Vol. I, Ch. VI, v. 55. p. 9 (Poona, 1893). The name *Manivālavāḥ* may be interpreted to mean *Mani-ālavāḥ*, i.e., Phani-ālavāḥ, the Ālupas of the Nāga race. This is in some measure supported by the variants of that name given in the same *Purāna*—*Mani-Vālakāḥ*, and *Mani-Vālukāḥ*, and by the fact that these people are placed immediately after the Kokanāḥ, i.e., the Konkanas B. A. S.

3. Wilson, *Mack. Coll.*, p. 35 (1832). *Infra*, Ch. V, Sec. 1.

that the Tamil word *nāḍ-āḷvan* "has also the analogous signification of a petty chieftain ruling over a restricted tract of territory (*nāḍu*), as in *Nañji-nāḍ-āḷvan*, etc."¹ This statement invalidates the evidence of inscriptions relating to the Ālupas as given in Mr. Venkoba Rao's own collections and in those of his predecessors. The fact that, for instance, there were petty chieftains, like the Caṅgāḷvas, the Kongāḷvas, the Dattāḷvas, the Śalle-vāḷvas, and the Nāḍāḷvas over the Ghats is no argument to prove the Dravidian derivation of the word Ālupa. Neither is the statement that because the Ālupas were feudatories of the Western Cālukyas and of some other prominent Karnāṭaka rulers, we should trace their origin to the word signifying dependence—*āḷu*.

A few facts connected with the origin and history of Caṅgāḷvas, the Kongāḷvas, etc., would suffice to demolish this part of the fallacious theory. Rice pointed out the similarity in the name Ālupa, as occurring in the records found in the Koppa and the Sohrab tālukas, to the name Caṅgāḷvas, and ventured to say that the Caṅgāḷvas of the west of Mysore and east of Coorg may have been a branch of the Ālupas of Udayāvara. But he qualified his statement by saying that this was only a conjecture.² The Caṅgāḷvas claimed descent from a

1. *Ep. Report of the Southern Circle* for 1926, p. 106. It was Hultzsch who converted suppositions into facts, thus.—"Mr. Rice's volume contains many records of certain later families which seem to be connected with the ancient Ālupas. These are the Caṅgāḷvas, Kongāḷvas, Nāḍāḷvas, Śāntaras, and the rulers of Kalaśa and Kārkaḷa." *E. I.*, IX. p. 16. Rice never wrote such statements at all! B. A. S.

2. Rice, *E. C.*, IV, Intr., p. 16, *ibid*, VI, pp. 11-12.

king Caṅgāḷva who is supposed to have been a contemporary of Bijjalendra. The origin of the Ālupas of Udayāvara is unknown, but it certainly cannot be traced to Caṅgāḷva. The territory of the Caṅgāḷvas was Caṅganāḍ (mod. Hunsur tāluka in the Mysore State). The kingdom of the Ālupas was a Six Thousand province. The *biruda* of the Caṅgāḷvas was *Mahāmaṇḍes'vara*. But the Ālupas assumed elaborate and high sounding *birudas*, and, in some instances, imperial titles as well. The family god of the Caṅgāḷvas was the god Annadāni Mallikārjuna on the Beṭṭadapura hill in the Hunsur tāluka; while the family deity of the Ālupas was Śiva (Bhairava) of the Śambhukallu temple in Udayāvara in the Uḍipi tāluka. The only point of resemblance between the Caṅgāḷvas and the Ālupas is that like the latter the Caṅgāḷvas sometimes evinced a great desire to promote the cause of Jainism. This explains the inclusion of a word—*āhāradāni* (meaning *āhārebhya-bhaisajya-s'āstradāna*) in a record dated A D 1091 of the chieftain Caṅgāḷvadevaru *alias* Mariya Perggaḍe Pilduvayya.¹ But this similarity is of no avail in establishing the alleged identity between the Caṅgāḷvas and the Ālupas.²

1. *My. Archl. Report for 1925*. For a detailed account of the Caṅgāḷvas, read Rice, E C., IX. Intr pp. 19-20, *My. & Coorg*, pp. 141-144.

2. On the history of the Kongāḷvas, read, *My. & Coorg*, pp. 144-5. The Ālvāḍi Six Hundred over which Āḷva, who ruled in *circa* A.D. 750, and who fell when Colika Muttarasa rose, as mentioned in E. C., XII, M1. 96, p. 113, need not be confounded with the Āḷva.

As regards the comparison made by the Madras Government Epigraphist between the Ālupas and the Tamil rulers of Madura, we shall see in a later connection that it is equally fallacious. For the present we may observe that the fact of the occasional subservience of the Ālupas to some of the most notable monarchs of the Karnāṭaka, cannot be seriously adduced in support of the alleged Dravidian origin of the word Ālupa. There are instances of famous royal families, as, for instance, the Hoysalas, who at first acknowledged the supremacy of more powerful rulers but who rose to great prominence afterwards.¹ The Ālupas, although by no means endowed with the vigour and magnificence of the Hoysalas, were nevertheless a royal family of considerable importance in the annals of both Tuluva and the Karnāṭaka.

The original home of these ancient rulers may now be located. Mr. Venkoba Rao writes thus:—"They originally held possession of Eḍevoḷal to the north-east of Banavāsī, and appear to have subsequently extended their dominions into the adjoining territory known as Āḷvakheḍa in the northern portion of the present

kheda of the Ālupas of Udyāvara. The Ālvādi chieftains were of local origin and subordinate to the Ganga Pallavas. *E C*, *ibid*, Intr. p. 7. An equally futile attempt has been made by some to trace the word Ālupa to the Kannada word *Aluve*, meaning an outlet into the sea, suggesting thereby that since the earliest capital of the Ālupas, Udayāvara, was near the sea, they took their name from the word *aluve*. M. Govinda Pai, *Karnāṭa Sāhitya Parisad*, XIII, p. 102, seq. This fanciful derivation does not rest on any cogent grounds. B. A. S.

1. *My. & Coor.*, p. 96.

South Kanara district. Their headquarters which were at one time Pombuccha (Humca in the present Mysore State), appear to have been later on shifted to Bārakūru, the Bārahkanyāpura of the inscriptions.... when the later Śāntara chiefs had encroached upon the territory round about Humca ".¹

One fails to see how the above statements came to be written. Evidently some of them are to be traced to the following conjectures of Hultzsch, who, while editing the Udayāvara inscriptions of the Ālupa rulers in the *Epigraphia Indica*, wrote thus : "That Citravāhana, whom the second Kigga inscription mentions as residing at Humcha, may or may not be identical with this Citravāhana II, but must be distinct from Citravāhana I, whose capital was probably Banavasi. If this identification is correct, Pombucchu, the modern Humcha, would have been the headquarters of the Ālupakheda Six Thousand. This Humcha seems to have been the capital of the Ālupa kings ".²

The original home of the Ālupas was not certainly Eḍevoḷal, they did not extend their territory from Eḍevoḷal to the coast ; and Bārakūru was never their first capital in Tuḷuva. These are the statements which we shall now prove with the aid of the inscriptions of the Ālupa rulers found both in Tuḷuva and over the Ghats. Of the seventy-eight stone epigraphs and copper-plate grants hitherto discovered in con-

1. *Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle* for 1926, p. 106

2. *E. I.*, IX, pp. 16-17.

nection with the Ālupa rulers, only seven (three of them being copper-plates) hail from the regions over the Ghats. The remaining seventy-one have been found exclusively within the boundaries of ancient Tuḷuva, Udayāvara itself claiming fourteen epigraphs. As regards the seven records found in the Mysore State, six deal with the early Ālupas, and one with a later ruler of the same dynasty. And of the six former, one merely mentions an Ālupa king in connection with a Kadamba ruler, another speaks of an Ālupa king ruling over the Kadāmbamaṇḍala, and yet another one speaks of his son as ruling over Pombuccha; while of the remaining three, two deal with the grants issued by the Western Cālukya monarch Vinayāditya, and one with the action which the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Prabhūtavarsa Govinda took to quell a revolt on the part of the ruler of Ālvakheḍa Six Thousand. There is nothing in the above six records to suggest in the least that Eḍevolal was the original home of the Ālupas. The seventh record may be dismissed as pertaining to an Ālupa ruler of the first half of the fourteenth century A.D.

Another consideration may be adduced in support of the contention that neither Eḍevolal nor Banavāsī was the early capital of the Ālupas. We may recall here the victories of king Kīrtivarmā I as given in the Mahakūṭa pillar inscription of king Maṅgaleśa. Here Āluka and Vaijayantī are mentioned separately. If the Ālupas had Vaijayantī or Banavāsī as their early

capital, it would not have been mentioned apart from Āḷuka. Moreover, we cannot conceive of the Ālupas being masters of Banavāsī in the second or third century A.D., when the early Kadam̄bas were already in possession of that city and its neighbourhood.¹ As to how the Ālupas came to be ruling over the Kadam̄bamaṇḍala and Pombuccha, it is a point we shall try to elucidate in a subsequent connection

Finally, we may note that had the Ālupas been in possession of Banavāsī prior to their having been lords of Udayāvara, they would never have called themselves *Cambukallu* (*S'ambhukallu*) *Bhattārakas*, especially in an inscription which both historically and palaeographically belongs to the same age to which the records referring to their alleged Banavāsī origin have been assigned by Hultzsch. The absence of the reference to the god Madhukeśvara of Banavāsī—the family god of the Kadambaş—in any of the records of the Ālupas hitherto discovered proves their non-Banavāsī origin. That in one or two inscriptions mention is made of the confirmation of tolls granted to the Paśupata Lord of Paṭṭi (*i.e.*, Humccha) and to Udayāvara is no argument to affirm that the Ālupas came originally from Pombuccha. Indeed, it appears to us, as we shall presently make it clear, that the fact of one of the soldiers, who fought and fell on behalf of a Udayāvara king, having been distinctly mentioned as an adherent of the Paśupata

1. *Mv. & Coor.*, pp. 21-2.

Lord of Paṭṭi, has been interpreted to mean that the Ālupa ruler himself was a devotee of the Paśupata Lord of Humccha¹ Such a confusion is not warranted by any of the epigraphs under review.

3. THE EARLY ĀLUPAS

We may now attempt to locate the various Ālupa rulers mostly on the basis of their own records, and in one or two instances, on those of their contemporaries over the Ghats. While the above remarks indisputably establish the antiquity of the Ālupas, it must be confessed that no direct evidence from epigraphs is forthcoming to prove their existence prior to the times of the Kadamba ruler of Bhatāri-*kula*. The antiquity of the Ālupas which is thus vouchsafed for by the Halmiḍi stone inscription is further borne out by the reference to the Ālupas in the epigraphs of the remarkable early Western Cālukya monarch Kīrtivarmā whose conquests, we may be permitted to repeat, included Āḷuka Vaijayantī¹. The reference here is only to the dynasty and kingdom and not to the name of the Ālupa ruler. We assume that the relations between the Western Cālukyas and the Ālupas remained the same under Kīrtivarmā's brother and successor Maṅgaleśa Rana-vikrama (A.D. 597-608). The fact of the Ālupas and the Gaṅgas having drunk "the nectar of close attendance" on the great Pulikeśin II Satyāśraya (A.D. 609-642), as is narrated in an inscription dated A.D.

1. *I. A. XIX.* pp 14, 19, op. cit

634-5,¹ only confirms our surmise concerning the submission of the Ālupas to the early Western Cālukyas. What precisely were the relations between them and the Ālupas when Pulikeśin's third son and successor Vikramāditya I reigned (A.D. 655-680),² we do not know. Not till we come to Vikramāditya I's son and successor Vinayāditya Satyāśraya (A.D. 680-696) do we meet with the first prominent historical figure in Ālupa history from whom we argue backward thus, in order to locate his predecessors from Kirtivarmā I's time till that of Vinayāditya Satyāśraya.

This Ālupa contemporary of Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, on whose epigraphs we construct the history of some of the early Ālupa rulers, was Citravāhana whom we style the first of that name. Four inscriptions concerning him have been discovered. Of these two were issued under the command of his suzerain, the third deals exclusively with him, and the fourth belongs to his predecessor and father. These four inscriptions are the following —the copper-plate grant from the Sohrab tāluka dated June 22nd A.D. 692; the second is another copper-plate found at Harihara in the Dāvana-gere tāluka dated A.D. 694; the third is a stone inscription found at Kigga (Kigga hōbli) in the Śrīngeśvara temple, Koppa tāluka, assigned to circa A.D. 675; and the fourth on the back of the same stone in the same

1. *I. A.*, V. p. 67 seq; VIII. p. 237; *Archl Survey of Western India*, III. p. 129, *E. I.* VI p. 10.

2. *Mv. & Coor.*, p. 63.

place but dealing with Citravāhana's father about whom we shall presently deal.

The copper-plate grant dated June 22nd A.D. 692 relates the following—that Vinayāditya Satyāśraya commanded all the people thus—that when six hundred and fourteen Śaka years had passed, and the eleventh year of the monarch was current, his victorious camp being located at the village of Citrasedu in the Toramara *viśaya* (details of the date being given), at the request of the Ālupa ruler Guṇasāgara's son the illustrious Mahārāja Citravāha—, to Divākaraśarmā son of Śaṅkaraśarmā and grandson of Nāgaśarmā, of the Dēvarāta Kauśika-*gotra*, proficient in the Ṛg Veda, was given the village named Sālivoge in the Eḍevolal *viśaya*, to the north-east (quarter) of Vaijayaṅtī, with the pouring of water and presentation of coin, not to be entered (into) by soldiers and free from all molestation, etc. The concluding lines of the same record may be noted —by the great minister for peace and war (*mahā-sandhi-vighraṇika*) Rainapunya Vallabha was the *s'āsana* written¹

For our immediate purpose we may observe the following —that in the above record of the Western Cālukya monarch the Ālupa ruler is called the illustrious (*S'rī*) Mahārāja Citravāha, that his father's name was Guṇasāgara, and that the place where Vinayāditya Satyāśraya encamped and where Citravāha presented

1. E. C., VIII. Sb. 571, p. 92; I. A., XIX, p. 152.

him with a petition was Citrasedu in the Gooty tāluka.¹

The same Western Cālukya ruler complied with another request of the same Ālupa king three years later at a place mentioned in the following copper plate grant hailing from Harihara in the Dāvanagere tāluka, and dated A. D. 694. This record affirms that Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, by whom the Pallavas, Kaṭabhras, Keraḷas, and others were brought into service equally with the Ālupas, Gaṅgas and others of old standing (*Āḷuva-Gaṅgādyaiḥ maulaiḥ samam bhrtyatām nitāḥ*) commanded all people thus. That six hundred and sixteen Śaka years had passed and the fourteenth year of the king's increasing victorious reign was being current, his victorious camp being situated at a village of Karañjapatra, in the neighbourhood of Hareṣapura (which may have been Harihara itself), at the full moon in Kārtika, on the application of Śrīmat Āḷuva Rāja, to Śrīśarmā Somayāji's grandson, and Māraśarmā's son Īśanaśarmā, well versed in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, was given in village of Kīru-Kāgāmāsi in the Eḍevolal visaya of the Vanavāsi district together with the prepared and unprepared tract to the west of Per-Kāgāmāsi (with details).²

Since only two years elapsed after the granting of the Sālivoḡe village by the same monarch, and since the Harihara grant also refers to an endowment to a

1. *Ep. Rept. for 1921*, p. 87.

2. *E. C. XI. Dg. 66*, pp. 62-3, 144.

learned Brahman, we deduce that the Āluva Rāja mentioned in the latter grant was no other than Citravāhana himself. As regards the *biruda Mahārāja* not being found in it, we may observe that it was compensated for by an epithet of equal, or perhaps greater, signification—*maulāh*. The donee was of course an altogether different person to the one mentioned in the Sohrab grant. Two more considerations may be made from the two records :—the Mahārāja Citravāha, or Āluva Rāja, was a patron of learning. He seems to have been particularly in the good grace of his suzerain. Both the villages granted by Vinayāditya Satyāśraya-Sālivoge and Kīru-Kāgāmāsī—were included in the Eḍevoḷal *viṣaya* of the Banavāsī district.

The third inscription found in Kiggā in the Koppa tāluka relates that when Citravāhana was ruling Pom-buccha, and Nāgenna was the officer of Killā, the paddy produce, cow's milk, bullock of the god Kīlgāneśvara, excepting the attendants of the gods, no one else (was permitted) to enjoy. Those who enjoyed this, and he who caused it to be enjoyed would remove the burden from the *deveḍittiyar* and the *sāer*, and take the produce, were to be held as consecrated to the thirty-three (*i. e.* gods).¹ The inscription gives further interesting details which will be utilized in a later connection.

The identification of the Citravāhana mentioned in the above stone inscription with the illustrious Mahārāja Citravāha of the Sohrab plate and the Āluva Rāja

1. E. C. VI, Kp. 37, p. 82.

of the Harihara plate, and the date to which this Kigga stone inscription can be assigned, can be determined by comparing the last epigraph with what is narrated on its back. The inscription on the reverse of the Kigga stone narrates that when Ālu-arasa, with the second name of Gunasāgara, was ruling the Kadāmbamaṇḍala,—Ālu-arasa, the Mahā Devī, and Citravāhana,—on Kuṇḍavarmarasa coming to his end, granted to the Kīlgāna god everything free of all imposts (*svasti s'rimatu Ālu-arasar Gunasāgarādviṭiya-nāmadheyan Kadamba-marḍalamam āluttam Ālu-arasarum Mahā-devīyarum Citravāhanarum Kundavarm-arasaṃ muḍime-geye*)¹

In the above record we have the following important details : Ālu-arasar, with his second name Guṇasāgara, mentioned with his queen who is merely called Mahā Devī and with his son Citravāhana ; the death of Kuṇḍavarmarasa, and the granting of certain imposts to the Kīlgāna god. The first statement concerning Citravāhana's father being called (Ālu-arasar with the second of) Gunasāgara strikingly corroborates the statement in the two grants of Vinayāditya Satyāśraya cited above. As regards the Kīlgāna god to whom Ālu-arasar Guṇasāgara made some endowment, it was the same god mentioned above on the obverse of the stone under the name Kīlagāṇeśvara. All these four records, therefore, refer to one and the same Citravāhana and to his father Ālu-arasar Gunasāgara.

1. E. C. VI., Kp 38, pp. 82-3

We have next to identify one of the figures —Kundavarमारasa—mentioned in the above record from Kigga, and the date to which the epigraphs on the obverse and reverse of the stone are to be assigned. As regards Kundavarमारasa, Rice wrote thus:—"We can hardly be wrong in assuming that Kundavarमारasa (*vide* Kp. 38) was a Kadamba, and it would seem as if he were a representative of the family, who had retired to a life of seclusion in the retreat of a temple at Kigga, where this inscription was found."¹ This is an entirely gratuitous assertion not in keeping with the sense of the inscription under review. Instead of assuming that Kundavarma was a Kadamba ruler, we believe that he was Ālu-arasar Guṇasāgara's father, and, therefore, Citravāhana's grandfather. It was on the death of his father that Ālu-arasar Guṇasāgara together with his queen and son repaired to the god Kīlgāna and gave to the temple certain endowments. We cannot imagine an Ālupa, or a non-Kadamba, king giving imposts to a temple on the death of a person who, as Rice imagines, belonged to the Kadamba stock. The name Kundavarma is not unknown to Ālupa genealogy: it was borne later on by an Ālupa ruler.

Now to fix the two Kigga inscriptions chronologically, we argue thus:—Rice has assigned both the inscriptions to circa A.D. 675, on grounds which cannot be understood.² Supposing we accept the date given

1 *E. C. VI. Intr. p. 5.*

2. Rice's uncertainty is apparent when he assigns the same Kp. 37 to A.D. 690! *Ibid* p. 10.

to the Kigga inscription 37 (i.e., the one on the obverse of the stone) as correct, we cannot conceive of Citravāhana ruling over Pombuccha and of his father Ālu-arasar Guṇasāgara ruling over the Kadam̐bamaṇḍala in one and the same year. We have, therefore, to assume the contrary to be the truth, viz., that Citravāhana succeeded to the mastery of the Kadam̐bamaṇḍala over which Ālu-arasar Guṇasāgara had ruled for some time. We know that the earliest date for Citravāhana I is A.D. 692. It is not improbable that he may have ruled over Pombuccha a few years earlier, viz., in A.D. 675. This would mean that his reign lasted from A.D. 675 till A.D. 694 or thereabouts. If we assign twenty-five years to Ālu-arasar Guṇasāgara, we come to A.D. 650 when he may have been in the presence of the god Kīlgāṇa along with his queen Mahā Devī and Citravāhana. This would mean that the reverse of the Kigga stone inscription (Kp. 38) has to be assigned to A.D. 650.

If this is accepted, then, Ālu-arasar Guṇasāgara's father Kuṇḍavarmarasa may be assigned to the year A.D. 625. The identity of the three successive kings is as follows —

Dg. 66 dated A.D. 694	Sohrab Plates dated A.D. 692	Kigga 37 dated A.D. 675	Kigga 38 dated circa 650
			Kunda- varmarasa
	Guṇasāgara		Ālu-arasar Guṇasāgara
Śrīmat Āluva Rāja	Śrīmat Mahā- rāja Citravāha	Citravāhana	Citravāha

There is one point in regard to the above rulers which still remains to be solved. And that is, how they, especially Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara and his son Citravāhana, come to be in possession of the Kadambamaṇḍala. Rice remarked thus as regards this question:—"Why the king Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara was in the possession of the Kadambamaṇḍala we do not know. No overlord is mentioned."¹ Then again he wrote, while dealing with Citravāhana, thus:—"Why Citravāhana was ruling from Pombuccha which was the Śāntāra capital, does not appear."²

But the acquisition of the Kadambamaṇḍala and with it of Pombuccha was not accidental. A few facts concerning the history of the Western Cālukyas will make this clear. The Aihole-Meguti inscription of Pulikeśin II dated Śaka 556 (A.D. 634-5) informs us that Kīrtivarmā I subjugated the Kadambas; and that the conquests of Pulikeśin II himself also included that of the Kadambamaṇḍala. The former statement relating to Kīrtivarmā I is corroborated by the undated Old-Kannada inscription found at Aḍūr (the ancient

1 & 2 E C VI, Intr. pp 5, 10. Hultzsch's conjectures regarding the two Citravāhanas are to be discarded. He makes an equally untenable statement, viz., that Citravāhana, whom he calls the I of that name, granted the two villages in the Edevolal *visaya*. E. I. IX, p. 16. Mr. Moraes conjectures thus —"It is possible that Pulikeśin II after reducing the Kadambas to subjection, wished to render them incapable of further mischief by completely destroying their power." To realize this he divided their territories among the Ālupas, who received the Kadambamaṇḍala, and the Sendrakas, who secured the Nāgarakhaṇḍa division. *Kadamba-kula*, p. 76. But those are merely suppositions. B. A. S.

Pāṇḍipura) in the Dharwar district, in the heart of the Kadamba territory, and by the Vokkalēri plates dated A.D. 757,¹ both of the king Pulikeśin. The unprecedented success of the Western Cālukya arms under Pulikeśin II brought in an interesting feature in the history of the dealings of the Karnāṭaka rulers with their neighbours in the south and in the east. About this time there was the coalition among the non-Karnāṭaka rulers following the conquests of the Pallavas of Kañci, the Colas, the Keraḷas, and the Pāṇḍyas by that illustrious Western Cālukya monarch. The Pallavas aided by the Coḷa, Keraḷa, and Pāṇḍya kings drove the Western Cālukyas to a region below the Ghats, and even succeeded in destroying their capital Vātāpi or Bādāmi.

The temporary humiliation which the Western Cālukya family suffered at the hands of the confederacy of the Tamīl, Pāṇḍya and Keraḷa rulers was retrieved by Pulikeśin's third son Vikramāditya I Ranarasika. This ruler seized Kañci, conquered all the allies of the Pallavas, and acquired for himself the regal splendour of his father. Among the confederates of the Pallavas were the Kalabhras.

If we provisionally accept the identification of the Kaḷabhras with the Kadāmbas,² we have a clue to the understanding of the problem concerning the possession

1. Rice, *My. & Coorg*. p. 64, *E C*, X, K1. 66, pp. 15-17; Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dist.* pp. 20-1, 23-4.

2. Rice, *ibid*, p. 65, n. (1), *JRAS* for 1929, p. 138. On the relations between the Western Cālukyas and the Pallavas, read Fleet, *ibid*, pp. 26-28.

of the Kadambamaṇḍala by Ālu-arasar Gunasāgara and by his son Citravāhana I. Obviously after the repeated conquest of the Kadambas by Kirtivarmā I and again by Pulikeśin II, they had joined hands with the Pallavas, the Colas, the Keralas, and the Pāṇḍyas. The only road along which the Keralas, who were the western allies of the Pallavas, could advance against the Western Cālukyās was either through Ālvakheḍa or the Ghat region across the Koṅgu country. If Pombucca—which later on became the capital of the Śāntalige 'Thousand—and the Kadambamaṇḍala were entrusted to the charge of the Ālupas, who were the hereditary allies of the Western Cālukyās, the latter could not only safeguard their territory against an attack by the Keralas but direct safely their attention against the Pallavas along the eastern frontier.

This not only explains why in the reign of Vikramāditya I Ranarasika (A.D. 655-680) we find Āluarasar Gunasāgara over the Kadambamaṇḍala but justifies the date we have given for him, viz., A.D. 650. Further, it also explains the marked favour which Vinayāditya, who again arrested "the extremely exalted power of the Pallavas, the lords of Kañci" and brought them under his subjection along with their old allies the Colas and Pāṇḍyas, showed to Citravāhana I on two occasions, as mentioned above.¹

1. The Kigga inscription kg. 37 mentions a Senavarasa along with the *dharmakarmakz* under the Ālupa ruler Citravāhana. We cannot identify the Senavarasa mentioned in this record. But the following considerations, if corroborated by other sources, would not

Two new stone records have now to be examined in order to determine the predecessors of Kunda-varmarasa, the grandfather of Citravāhana I. Of these the first was found in front of the Śāmbhukallu Bhairava temple at Udayāvara. The ruler is called merely Śrī Māramma Ālvarasar. Two towns are mentioned in this record—Kōlalanagara and Odevura. The former is to be identified with what is now called Kolalagiri on the other side of Suvarnā river in the Uppūru grāma, and the latter is the earliest variant of only prove the identification of Senavarasa but confirm our deduction concerning the contemporaneity of Ālu-arasar Gunasāgara with Vikramāditya I. There is a Senavarasa ruling over Banavase 12,000 under the Western Cālukya Vikramāditya Satyāśraya (E. C. VIII, Sb. 381, p. 67). The inscription which gives us this detail has been, for reasons not intelligible, assigned by Rice to A.D. 1010. There are two rulers who were called Vikramāditya Satyāśraya Pulikeśin II's third son, with whom we have been hitherto dealing, was called Vikramāditya Satyāśraya. His own and his father's conquests justified his title. His great grandson was also called Vikramāditya II Satyāśraya. Two inscriptions of this ruler found at Paṭṭadakal inform us that he three times conquered the Pallavas of Kañci. (Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dt.*, p. 29). Among the later Western Cālukyas is also a Vikramāditya—the most brilliant of the later rulers. Since this ruler did not assume the second name of Satyāśraya, we may reject the date *circa* A.D. 1010 given to Sb. 381 by Rice. Therefore, the Vikramāditya Satyāśraya mentioned in that record must refer either to the first or the second of that name. We believe that it refers to Vikramāditya I Satyāśraya since it explains the association of the Kadambas with him and the appearance of the Ālupa ruler Ālu-arasar in the Kadambamandala. It was because the Kadambas had sided with the Pallavas that Vikramāditya I Satyāśraya removed Senavarasa from Kadambamandala and gave it to his Ālupa ally. Whether this Senavarasa is to be identified with king Senavāra Arkkesari, who is mentioned in a record assigned to *circa* A.D. 700 by Rice (E. C. VII. Sk. 278, p. 145), we cannot make out. The name Senavara still survives among the Bunts of Tuluva. B. A. S.

Udayāvara, the capital of the Ālupas. The Goravaru spoken of in this record are no other than the Sthānikas.¹

The following considerations prompt us to assert that the ruler mentioned in the above Śāmbhukallu inscription is one of the earliest kings of Udayāvara. He is styled merely Śrī Māramma Ālvarasar. Like most of the early rulers of Karnāṭaka royal houses, for example, those of the Hoysala, Śāntāra, and Vijayanagara families, this Ālupa king has no *birudas* prefixed to his name. He cannot be compared with the Ālupa kings who bore a similar name, *viz*, Māramma Ālvarasar, since they bore elaborate *birudas*, while he had none. The record in question ends plainly without the name of the scribe. And the archaic language of the inscription, as is proved not only by its tenor but especially by the manner in which Udayāvara is written, clearly indicates that the ruler Śrī Māramma Ālvarasar preceded Kundavarmarasa

1. The inscription reads thus —*Svasti Śrī Māramma Ālvarasar Kolala-nakke Karasi-Nāyga-n-āld Kāyi. (do) Odevura nek ras hitta sakala—śrī ālgaḷ Goravaru. 99 of 1901, S I. I., VII, No 283, p. 144* The suffix *giri* given to Kōlalnagara by the people now is unintelligible. It is a small hill and it contains the ruins of a temple which was destroyed by the Roman Catholics in 1926 or thereabouts. The images of Kṛṣṇa were thrown into the Suvarṇā river by the miscreants, but were recovered by Mr. Timmaṇṇa Hegde, a wealthy Bunt land-owner who bought the adjoining property. The people assert that the Roman Catholic priest of the Church at Kōlālagiri is in possession of one of the two images wrecked by the Roman Catholics. He however denied this when I questioned him on Dec. 12th 1932. Nothing is more regrettable than that under the aegis of the British such acts of vandalism, if true, should have been committed! R A C

The tendency to prefix elaborate titles is seen in an inscription also found in the same Śāmbhukallu temple at Udayāvara. This record is likewise in Old Kannaḍa. The ruler mentioned in it is also called Śrīmat Āluvarasar. But he cannot be identified with Māramma Ālvarasar spoken of above for the following reasons—Unlike the latter, he has many *birudas*. He is styled *Danḍa Vibhūta-vistīrna Pitāmaha-avalokana Samvardhita Kulābhīmāna Sakala Śrīmat Āluvarasarum*. The second *biruda*, we may incidentally observe, *pitāmaha-avalokana* (One who was looked upon with affection by his Grandfather), suggests that the Ālupa genealogy may be carried one generation beyond Śrī Māramma Ālvarasar. Our surmise is strengthened by the Halmiḍi stone inscription which actually mentions an Ālupa king. But beyond this nothing can be said for the present.

There are two other considerations which compel us to place this Śrīmat Āluvarasar after Māramma Ālvarasar. The record gives the name (of the capital) Udipura, speaks of the seventy *okkalu* (citizens), the god Śāmbhukallu, and ends more elaborately than the inscription of Māramma Ālvarasar thus:—*mī (i) dhar-mam (a) n alivōn Bāranāsiyan alidōn-vasuvān-pārvarum-kondōn tammabbeyoḷbaṁ (ḷdam?) pañca-mahā-pātakamam-geydon-īdu cāndrādityakaḷ-uḷḷin nīpudam*. Moreover, the name of the scribe—Śrī Kālādityan—who wrote this epigraph (*daregoḷanman-baredōn*),¹ suggests that this ruler

1. 96 of 1901, S. I. I., VII. No. 279, p. 143.

came after Māramma Ālvarasar but before the Ālupa ruler to be mentioned soon, since his inscription does not contain at the end the reference to Śivahaḷḷi, and especially to the acquisition of the fruit of horse-sacrifice so characteristic of the inscriptions of the rulers who came after Citravāhana I. We have placed Kundavarमारasa I in circa A. D. 625. Judging by the same standard as that adopted for him and his son, Ālu-arasar Guṇasāgara, and his grandson Citravāhana I, we arrive at the following dates for the predecessors of Kundavarमारasa. This, as we shall see, fits in very well with the genealogy of the Ālupa rulers:—

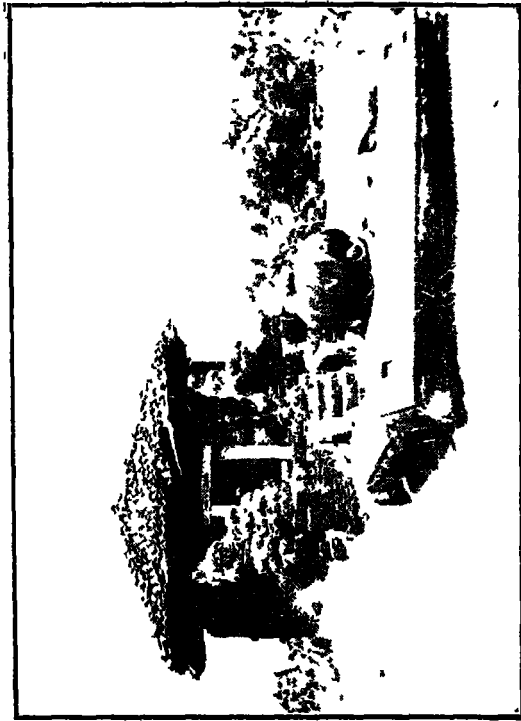
Māramma Ālvarasar A.D. 575.

Sakala Śrīmat Āluvarasar A.D. 600.

The Ālupa rulers hitherto mentioned and their Western Cālukya overlords may, therefore, be thus arranged:—

The Ālupas	The Western Cālukyas
⋮	⋮
Māramma Ālvarasar A.D. 575.	Kirtivarmā I A.D. 566-A.D. 597.
Sakala Śrīmat Āluvarasar A.D. 600.	Mangaleśa (brother) A.D. 597-A.D. 608.
Kundavarमारasa A.D. 625.	Pulikeśin II (son of Kirtivarma II) A.D. 609-A.D. 642.
Ālu-arasar Guṇasāgara (son) A.D. 650.	Vikramāditya I (son) A.D. 655-A.D. 680.
Citravāhana I (son) A.D. 675-A.D. 700	Vinayāditya I (son) A.D. 680-A.D. 696

To face 3



The ancient S'ambhukallu temple at Udayāvara
with the Nandi in front

Photo by B. A. S. J

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4. CIVIL WAR IN UDAYĀVARA

The reign of Citravāhana I witnessed a civil war in Udayāvara. Details concerning this interesting strife are gathered from stone inscriptions found near the Śambhukallu temple and in a private garden in Udayāvara, in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Kōṭa, also in the Uḍipi tāluka, at Kariyaṅgala and in the Durgā Parameśvarī temple—the former near, the latter in, Poḷali Ammunje in the Mangalore tāluka. None of these inscriptions is dated. They can be properly adjusted only by a comparative study. Palaeographically they belong to the same age.

The situation seems to be the following :—We have seen that Citravāhana I was away for a long time in the Kadam̐bamaṇḍala. The Ālupa capital Udayāvara during his absence seems to have been entrusted to the charge of Raṇasāgara who may have been either the brother or a near relative of Citravāhana I. That Raṇasāgara was actually reigning in Udayāvara is proved by epigraphs. We then see Citravāhana I attacking Raṇasāgara who, for some reasons, seems to have proved hostile to him. Raṇasāgara is beaten and he retires only to storm Udayāvara which falls into his hands. He is again attacked, this time by Śvetavāhana obviously on behalf of Citravāhana I, who may have died by this time. What happens to Raṇasāgara we do not know. Śvetavāhana in his turn is attacked by Pṛthvīsāgara who is crowned at Udayāvara. His son Vijayāditya continues the succession assuming the title of *Adhirāja*.

The above is the only reasonable deduction from the Ālupa epigraphs which otherwise are unintelligible and conflicting. We resume the narrative with Citravāhana I. It has been shown that his reign may have commenced in A.D. 675 when we find him ruling over Pombuccha. In A.D. 692 he was at Citrasedu with Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, and in A.D. 694, at Karañjapatra along with the same Western Cālukya monarch. If our surmise is correct, he seems to have been away from his capital, Udayāvara, for quite a long time, at least certainly from A.D. 692 till A.D. 694. Our assumption that he was the lord of Udayāvara is proved by a record found in front of the Śambhukallu temple at Udayāvara which not only calls him the *Lord of the Earth* (*dhareg-is'an*) but denies royal titles to his rival Ranasāgara. This record will be presently cited.

That Ranasāgara was not only ruling over Udayāvara but over the other parts of Āḷvakheda as well is proved by two stone inscriptions, one of them found in the Śambhukallu temple at Udayāvara and the other at Kariyaṅgala near Polali Ammunije in the Mangalore tāluka. The Śambhukallu temple stone inscription records that in the reign of the *Cambukallu Bhattāraka* (i.e., Śambhukallu Bhaṭṭāraka) Śrī Raṇasāgara Ālupendra, certain regulations were made pertaining to the daily regulation of eighteen towns, and (that ?) of Udayāvara.¹ If the assumption that Citravāhana I was away in A.D. 675 is admitted, then, the

1. 100 of 1901 ; S. I. I., VII, No. 284, p. 144.

above Śambhukallu record pertaining to the daily regulations in the reign of Raṇasāgara Āḷupendra may be dated also in A.D. 675. Raṇasāgara must have been placed over Udayāvara in that year by Citravāhana I

An undated stone inscription also in Old Kannada found in Kariyaṅgala near Poḷalī, confirms our surmise that Raṇasāgara was indeed ruling over Āḷvakheda. This epigraph narrates that in a fight Nāgamma of the Kayya-*vams'a*, who was known as Śūdraka, destroyed the enemy, and that Raṇasāgara made a gift in appreciation of his valour ¹ Since it was only rulers who gave gifts on such occasions, we have to identify the Raṇasāgara mentioned in this Kariyaṅgala record with the Raṇasāgara of the Śambhukallu inscription.

If this is granted, the following record found in the Durgā Parameśvarī temple also at Poḷalī Ammuṇije, is to be ascribed to the same ruler. This undated stone inscription records the death of Nanda Kaṁba in a battle with Āḷvar ²

There was consequently trouble in the reign of Raṇasāgara. From the fact that the above records were found at Poḷalī Ammuṇije, we have to surmise that it was there that he first had to meet with opposition. On whose behalf Nanda Kaṁba fought and died, cannot be made out. But judged by the following record from Udayāvara commemorating the occupation of the city by Citravāhana I, we may say that it was on this ruler's behalf that Nanda Kaṁba fought. The un-

1. 379 of 1927-8.

2. 370 of 1927-8

dated Udayāvara Śāmbhukallu stone inscription informs us that during the trouble of Ranasāgara (*Raṇa-sāgarāṇā s'am(sam)katadu*), the Lord of the Earth (*dhareg-is'an*), viz., Citravāhana I, occupied and entered Udayapura (*Udayapuram dhareg-is'an paḍe pogumalli*). On this occasion Vijaya Nāyga's son Kāltide (whose bravery is extolled) fought and died on the side of Citravāhana.¹

The absence of any *biruda* to Ranasāgara in this record from the Śāmbhukallu temple may be compared to the plain name Āḷvar given obviously to the same ruler in the Durgā Parameśvarī inscription which mentions Nanda Kamba's death

Citravāhana I's success was complete. He had justified his title of *dhareg-is'an*. But Ranasāgara was still powerful. This accounts for his re-entry into Udayāvara, and his successful defence against Śvetvāhana. That Ranasāgara re-entered Udayāvara is proved by an undated stone inscription found in the Mahāliṅgeśvara temple at Koṭa in the Uḍipi tāluka. This epigraph records the death of Angupesāra Pōlegan, a servant of Judda (Yuddha?) Malla, when Ranakisara entered Udayapura after fighting with *dhareg-is'an*.² Evidently the *dhareg-is'an* of this Kōta inscription was none other than the *dharege-is'an* (Citravāhana I) of the Udayāvara Śāmbhukallu stone inscription mentioned above. It follows, therefore, that the name Ranakisara

1. 94 of 1901 ; E. I. IX. p. 18.

2. 505 of 1928-9.

was either a second name of, or an engraver's error for, Ranasāgara

An undated stone inscription found in Udayāvara confirms our surmise that the Ranakisara mentioned above was no other than Ranasāgara himself. This record states that when Ranasāgara entered Udayapura, Nalimaṇi Nāga Dīksara Sāgara attacking, Nāpaḍe fought and died.¹

Citravāhana I's success cannot be determined. But Ranasāgara's success was short-lived. This is inferred from the following two undated records which describe Śvetavāhana as attacking Udayapura and the defeat of Ranasāgara. The first stone inscription was found in the Śāmbhukallu temple at Udayāvara. It narrates that when Śvetavāhana entered Udayapura, Pāṇḍyavillaras's son Dēvu (his praise) fought and died.² Another stone inscription found near Rāmacandra Bhaṭṭa's house also in Udayāvara, substantiates our assumption that Śvetavāhana fought against Ranasāgara. This epigraph relates that when Śvetavāhana entered Udayapura, Ranasāgara's servant Viñja Praharabhūsana's son Kāmakōḍa (his praise) fell nobly fighting for his lord.³

1 108 A of 1901, S. I. I VII, No. 293, p. 143

2. 105 of 1901; E. I. IX p. 15. Rangachari commits a blunder when he makes Śvetavāhana son of Pāṇḍyavillaras. A *Top. List* II p. 875. This error is to be traced to the *Madras Govt Epigraphist's Report for 1901*, where the same is given¹

3. 108 of 1901; E. I. IX., pp. 18-9. Again Rangachari wrongly states that Śvetavāhana died in the reign of Ranasāgara¹ A *Top. List*. II. p. 875.

We cannot make out what happened to Raṇasāgara. Śvetavāhana who opposed and probably killed him, may have been the son or a near relative of Cītravāhana I. Whatever that may be, it is evident that Śvetavāhana himself had to defend Udayāvara against a new enemy. This was Prthvīsāgara who now stormed the Ālupa capital. Three undated inscriptions which on palaeographical grounds may be assigned to the age of Śvetavāhana and found in the Śāmbhukallu temple, deal with the activities of Prthvīsāgara. One informs us that when Polokku Priyacelva, who was the beloved servant of Prthvīsāgara, the glorious Ālupendra, was entering Udayapura, that Polokku Priyacelva fell fighting.¹ This record proves that Prthvīsāgara Ālupendra had to struggle before he could become lord of Udayāvara.

We corroborate our statement by another undated stone inscription also from the same place. It relates that when Prthvīsāgara, who is not given the *biruda* the "Glorious Ālupendra", had himself crowned (*Prthvīsāgaran pattam-gattisi Udyapurman poḡuta-palli*) was entering Udayapura, Nadavilmuḍi's son Palpare died fighting.²

But Prthvīsāgara won a complete victory. We infer this from a third undated stone inscription found also in the same locality. The high sounding *birudas* which he assumed and the granting of tolls to two cities could

1. 101 of 1901, E. I. IX, p. 20,

2. 103 of 1901; E. I. IX., pp. 19-20.

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The moat of the Fort at Udayāvara

Photo by V. G. S.]

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only have been after his having been declared to be the undisputed master of Udayāvara. The stone inscription under review records that during Boygavarma's headmanship of the district, Prthvīsāgara, the *Glorious Ālupendra, Who sprang from the race of the Moon, the Ornament of his family, Udayāditya Uttama Pārḍya, the Glorious Ālavarasar*, confirmed the gift of one half (of) the tolls (*sankam*) to the two cities of Patti (*i. e.*, Patti Pombucchapura or Humccha) and Udayapura.¹

We can only surmise that Prthvīsāgara Ālupendra was the son of Ranasāgara. This assumption rests no doubt on weak grounds. Nevertheless it may be observed that in one stone inscription already cited, he is called *Lord of the Earth*. Further, in the same record he is called the *Glorious Ālupendra*.² Ranasāgara alone bore that second name. It was to wrest Udayāvara from Śvetavāhana, who maintained the claims of Ranasāgara's rival Citravāhana I, that Prthvīsāgara attacked Udayāvara and captured it.

The next ruler of Udayāvara seems to have been Prthvīsāgara's son. We infer this from two undated stone inscriptions found also in the Śambhukallu temple. A third inscription found in the Kōṭeśvara temple at Kōṭeśvara in the Kundāpūru tāluka may also be ascribed to the same ruler. Of the two Udayāvara stone records, one informs us that Vijayāditya Ālu.

1. 102 of 1901; *E. I. IX.*, pp. 20-1.

2. 101 of 1901, *op. cit.*

pendra, *Parames'vara*, *Adhirājarāja*, *Uttama Pārḍya*, *Who Sprang from the race of the Moon, the Glorious Māramma Ālvarasar*, confirmed the tolls to the same cities of Pombulca (i.e., Humccha) and Udayāvara, at a later date.¹

1. 98 of 1901, E. I. IX p. 22. Read Hultzsch's remarks why this inscription is dated later than the preceding one. E. I. IX. pp. 23-4 The Māramma Ālvarasar of these records (97 & 98 of 1901) was not the same Māramma Ālvarasar whom we have placed in *circa* A.D. 575 as the contemporary of Kīrtivarmā I. The following reasons prove our assertion —

- (a) The Śambhukallu stone record styled 99 of 1901 opens with *svasti*. The Śambhukallu inscription of Vijayāditya (97 & 98 of 1901) opens thus—*Om svasti Śrī*
- (b) In 99 of 1901 the ruler is called merely Śrī Māramma Ālvarasar. But in 97 & 98 of 1901 he has elaborate *brudās*, and he is said to have been of the Lunar line.
- (c) In 99 of 1901 the name of the capital is given as Odevura which may have been the original name of the capital. But in 97 & 98 of 1901 the capital is called Udayapura.
- (d) In 99 of 1901 the town of Paṭṭi Pombuccha—which was not in the possession of the early Ālupas,—is not mentioned. But in 97 & 98 of 1901 the tolls to this town are twice confirmed.
- (e) 99 of 1901 is more archaic and is simpler than the more florid and intelligible records 97 & 98 of 1901.
- (f) 99 of 1901 mentions the Goravas (Sthānikas) evidently of Odevura. 97 & 98 of 1901 describe the eight-fold fruits of a horse-sacrifice and the sins of destroying Bāranāsī and Śivahalli.
- (g) Finally, no engraver is mentioned in 99 of 1901. But 98 of 1901 mentions Ranadhari as the scribe, while 97 of 1901 contains no name of the engraver. These considerations conclusively prove that the two rulers Śrī Māramma Ālvarasar and Vijayāditya Ālupendra Māramma Ālvarasar could never have belonged to one and the same age. Our assumption, therefore, that Śrī Māramma Ālvarasar of 99 of 1901 belonged to an earlier age is fully justified. B. A. S.

From the above records it will be seen that like *Pr̥thvīsāgara*, *Vijayāditya* bore the names *Ālupendra* and *Uttama Pāṇḍya*, and traced his descent from the Lunar race. Like *Pr̥thvīsāgara*, *Vijayāditya* is called the *Glorious (Māramma) Ālavarasar*. These considerations together with the fact that *Vijayāditya* called himself *Parames'vara* and *Adhirājarāja*, lead us to the inevitable conclusion that he was the heir to a powerful principality from his father *Pr̥thvīsāgara Ālupendra*. This explains why he twice confirmed the tolls to the cities of *Paṭṭi Pombuccha* and *Udayāvara* to which his father had granted tolls during the headmanship of *Boygavarma*.

The third inscription which belongs to the same monarch is that which was discovered in the *Kōṭeśvara* temple at *Kōṭeśvara* in the *Kundāpūru tāluka*. This is an undated and damaged stone record which merely registers a gift (of land ?) for the worship and offerings of the god *Subra(ma)ṇi* (*Subrahmaṇya*). The king is named *Vijaya Deva Ā(lpanr)pendra Deva*.¹

Till now we have tried to fix the *Ālupas* on the strength of their epigraphs. We may now assign dates to them according to the standard we have adopted above, namely, assigning twenty years to every one of the rulers. *Citravāhana I*'s last date, based on epigraphical evidence, is, as we have seen, A.D. 694. It cannot be that he attacked *Ranasāgara* while he was

1. 372 of 1927.

busy moving about in the company of his suzerain Vinayāditya Satyāśraya. Hence we have to suppose that he entered Udayāvara after A.D. 694. It has been made clear that he captured that city. We may, therefore, give five or six years more to Citravāhana I. This would mean that his reign began in *circa* A.D. 675 and ended in A.D. 700.

Raṇasāgara being his contemporary may be assigned to A. D. 710–A. D. 720, and Śvetavāhana who attacked him, to A. D. 720–A. D. 730, Prthvisāgara Ālupendra, who in turn ousted Śvetavāhana may be placed in A. D. 730–A. D. 750, and his son Vijayāditya Ālupendra, who ruled over a secure kingdom, in A. D. 750–A. D. 770.

5. ĀLUPA RULERS FROM CITRAVĀHANA II

If the above deductions which are based on historical and palaeographical grounds are admitted, we come to the problem of the identification of the successor of Vijayāditya Ālupendra. He was Citravāhana whom we shall style as the second of that name. His age and name can be determined on the basis of a Rāṣṭrakūta record which will be discussed in connection with the foreign relations of the Ālupa rulers. Here it may be noted that the Citravāhana mentioned in the Rāṣṭrakūta record cannot be identified with Citravāhana I for the following reason:—The Ālupa rulers would not have stormed Udayāvara when the Rāṣṭrakūtas had sent an army against one of them in order to punish him for a certain political offence. Hence we have to

reject the identification of the Citravāhana of the Rāstrakūṭa inscription with Citravāhana I as originally given by Hultzsch and repeated by the Madras Government Epigraphist (Mr. Venkoba Rao), and the consequent confusion in the descent of the Ālupa rulers made by the latter, who makes Citravāhana II successor to Citravāhana I, followed by Śvetavāhana and Ranaśāgara.¹

Nothing can be determined concerning the successors of Citravāhana II for about a century. What we may venture to suggest, as will be pointed out later on, is that king Vimalāditya may have ruled over Ālvakheda in the precarious times that followed the reign of Citravāhana II. It is only in about A. D. 920-30 that we come across Ālva Ranañjaya whose position in the Ālupa genealogy will be fixed with the aid of contemporary Śāntara records in the following chapter.

We presume that Ālva Ranañjaya's successor was Dattālpendra Śrīmāra whom we place in A. D. 959 on the strength of a solitary stone inscription found in the Someśvara temple at Mūḍukēri in Bārakūru. This inscription is undated but it mentions the ruler's spiritual adviser named Gagana Śiva Ācārya whose age will be discussed while delineating the religious history of Tuluvaṇādu. The queen of Dattālpendra Śrīmāra was called Oḍḍama Devī.²

Dattālpendra Śrīmāra's successor was Kundavarma Ālupendra (II). A unique inscription in Grantha script

1. *E. I.*, IX pp. 16-17, *Ep. Report for 1926-7* pp. 106-7.

2. 124 of 1907; *S. I. I.* VII., No. 314, p. 165

but in the Sanskrit language engraved on the pedestal of the image of Lokeśvara in the Mañjunātha temple at Kadri, near Mangalore, is the only record concerning this ruler. The inscription opens with *svasti S'ri* (Hail ! Prosperity !) in the usual Ālupa manner. The ruler is praised thus :—*That he was a sun to the lotus the Lunar race, One with an effulgent body, One with his chest rubbed with saffron from the breast of Lakṣmī the State, One who, endowed with great physical strength, protected the corners of the world shining in the moonlight of pure fame, One by whom the evil of drinking was made distant (i. e., removed), One who by his distinguished achievements, released the earth for the sake of the agrhāras of Brahmans, One who by his valour recovered his kingdom after defeating traitorous wicked enemy (to whom he had given land [formerly])—such an Ālupendra ruler named Kundavarma was equal to Karna in liberality, to Arjuna in valour, to Indra in wealth, and to Brhaspati in wisdom. And (he was also) virtuous. He was like a bee at the lotus feet of Bālacandra S'ikhāmaṇi.* When 4068 years (and) nine months had passed in the Kaliyuga, and Jupiter was in Kanyā in the Rohiṇī nakṣatra on the afternoon (of the day) in an auspicious moment, (he) set up the image of god Lokeśvara in the beautiful vihāra of Kadirikā.¹

1. 27 B. of 1901 ; Ep. Rept. for 1921, p. 8 ; S. I. I. VII. No. 191, p. 87.

The original runs thus .—

*Svasti Śrī | ŚrīmatSoma-kula-ambhojaravinā dīpta (te) jāsā- |
rājā-Lakṣmīkucā (laktā)kṣ. nī-kṛtā-vi-kṣasā || 1 ||
uddāma-bāhuvīryeṇa rakṣitā(h) kṣiti-mandala (āh) |*

niskr laṅkoyaśaś-candracandrikā-vilasat-diśā ||2||
surā-pān krto de (do) ṣo yena rāṇā rirākṛt h |
dviṣṇānām-agra-hārebhy. h-cāru-cāritṛ; śālinā (śālinā) ||3||
dattām-bhuvā (cm)-rirākṛtya belāt-viśāsoghātīnām |
rāyam svabhū (ja)-viryena grhītu m yena māṣṇā ||4||
so'ycm Kerna-sam h-tyāgi (Pārtha)kalpāḥ parākrame |
Sureśdrascdṛśo Lakṣmyā Bṛhaspatisamo dhiyā ||5||
ŚrīKundavarmā gunava (vā) na (nā) aluven (dro) mchīpatih |
pāda (ā) ravind. -bhramaro Bālacandra-Śikhāmaneh ||6||
kalau va (r) ṣaśi h śrānām-atikrānte ctuṣṭ ye (catuṣṭ ye) |
pu (nar; bde) grte-ca-eva-(āpya)ṣṭa-ṣcṣṭyā samanvite ||7||
gatesu nava-māṣeṣu Kanyāyām scmsthite Gurau |
paścime-haṇi Rohinyām muhū (r) te śubha-lc kṣane ||8||
Lokeśvcrasya devasya pṛctis[hām-c]krot-pr. bhūḥ |
SrīmatKc dirikānām vihāre sumanohare ||9||

Mr. Govind Pai, who has edited this inscription in Kannaḍa in the November issue of the now defunct *Karnāta Kesari*, 1927, pp.131-141, has given an incorrect rendering of some of the words occurring in the inscription. Thus in verse (1) he writes *k. l. n̄kita* when it ought to be *k. l. i. ki kṛta*, in verse (2) he writes *kṣitimandclam* when it ought to be *kṣitimandlāḥ*, in verse (3) he writes *kṛtāveśo* for *kṛtadoṣo*; in verse (4) he gives *bhūpcmrākṛtya* for *bhuvam*; in verse (5) he writes *Karn (n) a-samastyāge* for *Kerna-samastyāgi* and in the same verse he substitutes *vāyuk. l. pch* for *Pārtha*; in verse (6) he gives *Ālupendro* for *Āluvendro*, and in verse (7) he writes *aṣṭa-ṣaṣṭi* for *āpyaṣṭa-ṣaṣṭyā*. Mr. Pai has translated the name of the guru of the Ālupa king thus:—*jeḍ-yellī eldinglanru mudidukondiruva Śrī Sivana aḍidāvaregaḷa (bh. kṛiyallī) dumbiyopādīyiliruva Ālupa vcmśda oḍeyanāda Śrī Kundavarmā remba guncvantanāda mchārājanu*. This is how he translates verse (6) of the above inscription! Expressed in Kannaḍa it ought to be the following—*gunaventrāda Śrī Kundavarma Aluvendra rāṇu Bālacandra Śikhāmaraya pāda-k. mclcgalli bhramaradantiruvanu*. How far fetched Mr. Pai's translation is can be made out when we give one more specimen of his rendering. This concerns verse (1) which he gives thus in Kannaḍa—*Svstī vibhavrāda oḷagūḍiruva caśdravcmśavemba tāv rege rēscrantiruva tanra tēj dinda hoṣyutiruva (irna) rāyavemba Lcṣmya edege suvciruva alatigeynda baḷediruva hrd y. d-ṣatulla*. I translate this in the following manner—*svasti śrī Candra-vcmśavemba k. malṛkke sūryarantiruva uyyclavāda dēha-kānā-vulla rāja-Lakṣmya kuca-kunkumcāda māśida edeyulla*. Suffice it to

The date works correctly to A. D. 968 January the 13th.¹

The next name we meet with in the Ālupa genealogy is that of Baṅkideva Ālupendra deva (I). On the evidence of contemporary foreign history and that of three stone inscriptions—two of which clearly deal with him although they are undated, and one dated record which we assign to him on historical grounds,—this ruler may be placed in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. A study of the Ālupa-Śāntara alliance which will be described in detail in a later connection, gives us the date A.D. 1050 for Baṅkideva Ālupendra. The two records which specifically mention this ruler were found in the Someśvara temple at Mūḍukēri in Bārakūru. Both break off at the end but give us some details concerning the titles of the king and the territory over which he ruled. The epigraphs open with *svasti* and give the following *birudas* to the king:—*Samasta-loka-eka-vyāpta-yas'o-vistāraram* (One who had his fame spread uniformly all over the universe), *Nija-*

say that Mr. Pai has made matters unnecessarily more complicated by the use of imagination and antique phrases not warranted by the epigraph. He calls Lokesvara Ādinātha¹. And by a roundabout way of reasoning, Mr. Pai arrives at A.D. 830 Jan. 8th Sat as the year when Kundvarma installed this image of Lokesvara¹. This, as is evident from the chronology given in this treatise, is impossible. In the interpretation of this inscription, I have received invaluable aid from my learned friend Pandit Venkatadāsa Ācārya of Uḍipi; and the text I have followed is that given in the *S. I. I* VII. B. A. S.

1. Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, II. p. 336. In *S. I. I*, VII, p. 87, the date is given as Kalī 4168. Mr. Rama Rao adds the detail 13th January, a Sunday B. A. S.

daḥṣina-b (h) *uja-danda* (in one version *ōrddanda*) *karavāḷa eka-sahāyarum āḡi* (One who felt confident in the use of the sword in his own right arm), *Tulu-visayadoḷ nija-ājneyam nilisi* (One who established his own command in the Tulu-viṣaya), *Male-yēḷum-Kombumnaḷinal-elu-Male-pā* (l) *par-ellamam* (One who ruled over the territories comprising the Seven Male and the Seven Kombu), *nija-soāmi* (the Rightful Lord), Śrī Bankideva Ālupendra Devar. One record unfortunately breaks off here, and the other after narrating the above *birudas*, continues to give a few details concerning what appears to be the military success of the ruler

The statements occurring here, *viz.*, that the Śāntaḷige Thousand was under him, and that the country was being ruled under the shadow of his sole umbrella—*S'āntaḷige-sāyiramam eka-cchatra-cchāyeyim rājyam-geyyuttam mmalepa*,—when taken in conjunction with the *birudas* of the ruler referring to his valour and his mastery over the Seven Male and the Seven Kombu, prove beyond doubt that Bankideva Ālupendra was enjoying complete independence in the middle of the eleventh century A.D.¹

An unfinished stone inscription found in the Śambhukallu temple at Udayāvara is supposed to belong to the reign of Bankideva Ālupendra on the following grounds—It opens in the usual Ālupa manner with *svasti* but proceeds directly to give the date thus:—*Sake (S'aka) nrpa-kālātita-samvatsara-sa(s'a)tangalaṇ 980 neya Viḷambi-samvatsarada Caitra S'uddha Punname 16 neya*

1. 135 & 137 of 1901; S. I I VII., Nos. 327, 328, p. 178

udejam(Va)ḍḍavīradandu which agrees with A.D. 1058 March Friday the 15th, the week day however not corresponding. The inscription then continues thus:—*Cokipā iya-baḷiṣar,am S'r.mān Ma(hāmar,aleśvara) Rōja-Sāltiratta...risar,a-daiḍasī*...and then breaks off.¹

We know that Bankideva Ālupendra's date is A. D. 1050. This inscription which falls in A.D. 1058 can be referred only to him, since it is impossible to conceive of any other ruler exercising authority over the Āḷva-kheḍa during Bankideva Ālupendra's time. Moreover, if the *biruda* *Mahāmar,ḍiḷika* 's substituted for *Mahāmar,ḍaleśvara* given by the Madras Government Epigraphist, and if the last words-*risar,a-daiḍasī*—are taken to be an error for *dakṣiṇa-bhuj -daiḍa*, we may have some further grounds, perhaps, for assigning this inscription to the reign of Bankideva Ālupendra which seems to have extended from A. D. 1050 till A. D. 1070.

6. MEDIAEVAL ĀLUPAS

No direct evidence is forthcoming concerning the successor of Bankideva Ālupendra I. But on the strength of one inscription of Bl ujabala Kavī Ālupendra and on that of his son Bl ujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendra, we are able to assert that the ruler who succeeded Bankideva Ālupendra I was Udayāditya Pēṇḍya Pattigadeva Ālupa, a king who is mentioned in the incomplete stone inscription found in the Durgā Parameśvara temple

1. 95 of 1501, S. I. I. VII, No. 28, p. 143; Sv amikannu, *Ird. Ephem.*, III. p. 118.

at Poḷali Ammuṇṇi. Here, however, the full name of the ruler is not given. He is styled ...Pāṇḍya Paṭṭaga-
deva Ālupa, thus proving beyond doubt that he was
indeed an Ālupa king. The record, we may incidentally
remark, mentions an artisan Bīravadi Candaya.¹

Now, we may assert that Udayādityarasa, who is
mentioned in the fragmentary record of Bhujabala Kavi
Ālupendra, is the same ruler whose name is given as...
Pāṇḍya Paṭṭigadeva Ālupa on the strength of a later
record found in the Nemīśvara *baṭi*, belonging to
Ālupa Jagadevarasa's (son and) successor Bhujabala
Kulaśekhara Ālupendra. This later record of
Kulaśekhara Ālupendra, which will be cited while des-
cribing the reign of that ruler, clearly gives the descent
of Kulaśekhara Ālupendra thus:—Pāṇḍya Paṭṭodeya
followed by Pāṇḍya Ca (kravartin) Kavi, and then a
ruler whose name is effaced in the record (but who was
evidently Ālupa Jagadevarasa) followed by Kulaśekhara.
Since, according to our estimate, Udayādityarasa
preceded Kavi Ālupendra, it follows that Pāṇḍya Paṭ-
ṭodeya was no other than Udayādityarasa. The last
known date for Bankideva Ālupendra I is A. D. 1058,
and the earliest date for Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra is,
as we shall presently see, A. D. 1134. We do not know
whether Udayādityarasa Pāṇḍya Paṭṭigadeva (Paṭṭodeya)
Ālupa ruled for fifty eight years; but it would not be
far wrong to place him in about A. D. 1088.

1. 374 of 1927-8.

That Udayādityarasa Pāṇḍya Pattigadeva (Pattoḍeṃya) indeed reigned is proved by the many *birudas* given to him in the Nemisvara *basti* inscription discovered at Varanga referred to above. They are the following.—*svasti Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta, Pāṇḍya-rājādhirāja, Parames'vara, Paramabhattāraka, S'aranāgata-vajra, pañjara, ripu-rāja-kuñjara, Sāhityāmara, Nārī-manorāma (?)*, *Sangrāma-vīra, Catur-vidha-budha-jana (ra) (ṛaidinī ?), Rāja-hanṣa Bhārata-karnāvataṃsa, Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya, Pāṇḍya-Dhanañjaya, Jayāṅgana uttunga-sthanālingana prasanga, Sangararanga, Kēḷi-vinoda, ā. nā bālā-jana-manah kusūmasara, Sarasvatī-karna-kunḍala-ābharana, Rana-ranga-S'ūdraka ityādi nama-upeta Soma-vamśa-(man) dalika (tilaka ?) śiṃhāsana-anantaram digantarāḷa-mūḷa kīrti-ketti-Patti-oḍeyam dusta-nighraha-śistu pratipālana paranāgi rāja-rakṣitam dharmam emba naḍiyam kannaḍisi dharmavam sadya dim raksisidan..*

The *birudas Sangrāma-vīra* (Hero of battle), *Jayāṅgana-uttunga-sthanālingana prasanga* (One who was accustomed to embrace the lofty bosom of the Lady Victory), and *Rana-ranga S'ūdraka* (a *S'ūdraka* on the battle-field) suggest that the Ālupa ruler was noted for his martial exploits which unfortunately cannot be determined at present. The statement that Pattodeya *dharmam emba naḍiyam kannaḍisi* (caused the conduct of *dharmā* to appear?) seems to imply that he championed the cause of the Hindu *dharmā*.¹

¹ These passages from 526 of 1928-9 have been taken from the transcript of that inscription so kindly sent to me by Mr. K. N. Dikshit through the Superintendent of Epigraphy, Southern Circle,

His successor was Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra. Seven stone inscriptions dealing directly with Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra, and an eighth concerning one who seems to have been his vassal, have been discovered in the Uḍipi, Kundāpūru, and Kārkala tālukas. The earliest opens merely with *svasti*, and is dated *Sa ('Sa) ka (vorsa) 1036 neya Vijaya Sam (va) cch (ts) aradalu* which evidently stands for Śaka 1035 expired (A.D. 1113-4), since the cyclic year for Śaka 1036 was Jaya, and for Śaka 1035 (1113-4) Vijaya. It then mentions directly that in the reign of *Kāvyaālpendra* (i.e., Kavi Ālupendra) *Manda .(U) deydityarasara*, and then breaks off after a few words.¹ It is from this inscription found in the Śambhukallu temple at Udayāvara that we determine that Udayādityarasa was Kavi Ālupendra's (father and) predecessor.

Another stone inscription of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra found in the Vināyaka temple at Uppūru, Uḍipi tāluka, is doubly interesting. It not only calls the king by another name—*Pāndya Cakravarti*—but gives

Madras, along with the transcripts of Nos. 372 and 419 of 1927-1928 485, 488, 490, 491, and 509 of 1928-1929. Unfortunately there are many gaps in the inscriptions, specially in 526 of 1928-9, and the handwriting in many places is indistinct. I am not sure of some of the above passages. I may note here that one of the *birudas* of Udayādityarasa given above—Pandita Pāndya—appears as the name of a Śāntara chieftain Pandita Pāndya, son of Rāya Pāndya, in a record dated A.D. 1148. *E. C. XI. Dg 41, p. 51. Śaranāgata-vajra-pañjara* is one of the *birudas* borne by the Hosagunda chieftain Kumāra. Bīrarasa in A.D. 1229. See *infra*, Ch. III, see IV.

1. 106 of 1901, *S. I I VII*, No. 290, p. 146, Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, III pp. 228, 230.

us the name of one of the most celebrated figures in Tuḷuva history. It is that of Parapaḷi Nāyaka, who along with others (*munṭāḍavar*), made a gift of gold (*gadyāṇa* 19) on Ādivāra, Piṅgaḷa, Kuṁbha 31. The cyclic year Piṅgaḷa corresponds to Śaka 1019 (A.D. 1137), and the date evidently stands for Sunday the 21st February.¹

The memory of Parapaḷi or Paḷipata Nāyaka, as he is called today, is still held in very high veneration by the people of Tuluva, especially in the Uḍipi and Kundāpūru tālukas, and, as they say, also over the Ghats. The above record which associates Parapaḷi Nāyaka with a gift of gold, is of particular importance. The following story concerning the liberality of this most generous son of Tuluva is still current in the land.—

Parapaḷi Nāyaka was a native of Banṇiṅje in Uḍipi where a *guḍi* (shrine) of the god Hanumanta and a plot of land are still associated with him—the former as having been the place where he used to perform his worship of Hanumanta, and the latter his rice field from which he earned his living. His master was a learned Brahman, who was in search of a *paraśa* (Philosopher's Stone). Being skilled in black art, the Brahman ordered Parapaḷi Nāyaka to get ready a plantain tree to be planted in a certain place at a given time. Parapaḷi Nāyaka being very inquisitive, brought two plantain

1. 488 of 1928-9, Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, III. p. 278. Kuṁbha 31 is evidently an error for Kuṁbha 30. B.A.S.

trees, and giving one to his master, kept the other for himself. When the auspicious moment arrived, the Brahman planted the plantain tree, Parapaḷi Nāyaka doing the same without his master's knowing it.

In due course startling results revealed themselves: the master's plantain tree proved barren, while Parapaḷi Nāyaka's bore a gorgeous bunch of golden coloured plantains! But the simple-minded Parapaḷi Nāyaka seeing the huge bunch of plantains, was terribly perturbed at the novel fruits, and went to his master and confessed his doings. The kind-hearted Brahman, far from getting angry with his servant, told him to do the following :—On a particular day Parapaḷi Nāyaka was to take the bunch of plantains to the sea, and doing obeisance (to the ocean) was to throw the plantains into the waters. The Brahman said that the ocean would then send three waves—the first and second would throw metals and precious stones on to the shore, but Parapaḷi Nāyaka was not to collect them. Whatever the third wave brought was to be taken to his home.

Parapaḷi Nāyaka faithfully followed the instructions of his master. The first and the second breaker brought forth glittering metals and shining diamonds respectively. These he threw back into the sea. A third wave swept clean over the beach and left behind it one single pebble in the shape of an axe. Parapaḷi after some moments of doubt as to whether or not he should take this piece of stone, at last carried it to his hut. That evening he threw it in a

niche in the wall, where he kept his scythe. Forgetting the day's strange happenings, he fell asleep.

On the morrow when he started for work in his field, he was stunned to see his scythe turned into gold ! Running to his master, he narrated everything begging the Brahman's forgiveness. The Brahman instead of rebuking him told him the use to which the stone could be put, but warned him to use it sparingly. Parapali carried out his master's injunctions to the letter. He turned iron into gold but never made use of the wealth for himself. He continued to serve his old master and to live in his old dilapidated hut. But he bought land at enormous price and bestowed it upon the poor. This he did not only in Tuluva but also in the regions of the Ghats, Kerala, and even in distant Tirupati.

Honest Parapali drew upon himself the envy of the great land-owners and others. Once he went to Basarūru in order to buy land for cattle. It was his custom to buy land at different places and turn it into public grazing ground. At Basarūru, however, the people looked with suspicion on his wealth and refused to sell plots of land to him. At last Parapali prevailed upon them, and it was agreed that so much of land was to be given to him as would be covered by a stone trough. The condition being that he was to pay the price of the plot in as much gold as the trough would hold. Parapali paid the money but when constructing the trough, caused it so to be shaped that it bulged out in

the middle to an extent the wily citizens of Basarūru had not anticipated. All land below the trough became the property of Parapaḷi Nāyaka.

His deeds consisted mostly in gifts of land for cattle. Everywhere, especially in the Uḍipi tāluka, large plots of waste land are now shown as "Paḷipaṭa Nāyaka's *dharma*" Most often these plots of land contain single slabs of granite placed perpendicularly on the ground. They bear no inscription. But some times nearabouts there is an image of the god Hanumanta. The following places contain many such stones :— Banṇiṇje, where he is said to have lived, Gundibailu near the Māyā Gundī temple, Ādī Uḍipi on the small hillock where stands the *gudī* (or shrine) of the powerful devil Bobbariye, and Kukkehaḷḷi near Kīḷiṇje where an inscription which is said to have contained details concerning his deeds, has been recently destroyed.

Parapaḷi Nāyaka's last days were spent in charity as well. It was his wish that the Philosopher's Stone should pass into the hands of an equally generous person, now that he was getting old and that his end was approaching. His Brahman master advised him to entertain the men of the locality with a grand feast. The Stone was immersed in one of the huge cauldrons used in Tuluva for preparing the dishes. It was agreed that the stone should become his property on whose plantain leaf it would be served. But serve as they would, the stone dropped only on the leaf of Parapaḷi Nāyaka!

Since there was none who was worthy of getting the Stone, on the advice of his Brahman master, Parapaḷi Nāyaka threw it back into ocean from where he had secured it.¹

To revert to the story of the Ālupa ruler in whose reign Parapaḷi Nāyaka lived. A third stone inscription found at Beluvāyi in the Kārkala tāluka is to be assigned also to the same Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bṛujabala Kavi Ālupendra. It opens in the usual manner with *svasti Ś'rī*, and proceeds directly to narrate that in the victorious and increasing reign of Śrīmat Pāṇḍya

1. Another story is also current in Tuluva concerning the manner in which he got the Philosopher's Stone. It is the following — Once many pilgrims assembled in the Anantēśvara temple at Uḍipi with a view to proceed to Tīrupatī. At the repeated requests of Parapaḷi Nāyaka, they agreed to take him along with them as a load-bearer. To while away their time they asked him, in the course of their journey, what he, who could not even perform a *pūjā*, would do if god Govinda appeared to him and blessed him. He replied that he would do good to the people. They laughed at his simplicity. On reaching Tīrupatī, Parapaḷi found that every body neglected him because he was a poor man. Sorry beyond measure, he sat under a tree and prayed to God that if only He took pity on him, he would pray as others did and do good to the world. Just then a monkey came over head and dropped a pebble on Parapaḷi. Regretting that even animals felt no pity for him, Parapaḷi threw aside the pebble. The monkey repeated his pranks thrice, when for the third time the pebble touched the betel-leaf pestle which turned instantly into gold. Blessing the monkey, Parapaḷi went to the bazar and sold his gold, and to the surprise of all, gave dinners to his fellow travellers and performed many *pūjās* in the temple. Returning to Tuluva, he began to give munificent gifts, and is said to have converted *Tīribūdu* (Loafer's Quarters) of Uḍipi into *Śrībūdu* (i. e., Śrībūdu or Wealthy Quarters). He lived till the end of his life in the same old hut which he had occupied before going to Tīrupatī. B. A. S.

Cakravartin Pāṇḍya Deva, which was to endure as long as the moon and the stars may last, (*S'rimat Pāṇḍya Cakravarti Pāṇḍya-devara rājā-abhivṛddhi prīddhamā[nam] ācandrārkkā-tārāvāra [tārāmbaram] sa'utam ire*), Mahēpradhāna Arasu Heggade, Kunni Gauḍa's officers (? *cāraru*), Mujavuru of Devala Kanda, and Hāraḍe Deva, made a grant (the details of which are effaced) to Śvara (?). The date is given with the following incomplete details—*Minadalu Brahulva* (? *Bahuḷa*) *Meṣa māsa Ādivāra*.¹

Since we know that in A.D. 1138 Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra was ruling, we have to construe the above record hailing from Beḷuvāyi as one that refers only to the same ruler.

A fourth stone inscription may also be assigned to him. It was found in the Pañcalingeśvara temple at Bārakūru. The epigraph opens in the manner given above and continues to relate that in the victorious reign, augmenting with perpetual increase which was to endure so long as the moon and the sun and stars may last, of Bhujabala (la) Kavi Ālupendradeva, (*vije[a]yarā . . . m-uttara-uttara-abhiv . pravarddham-ācandrārkkā-ārāmbaram-salutam ire*), an endowment (specified in detail) was made. The grant made in the presence of the god Mārkaṇḍeśvara at Bārakūru, evidently refers to lands in Sūrala (mod. Surāla) to Sūrala Toḷaha for the *naivedya-sāle* (oblations hall ?) constructed by (in honour of ?) Śivānanda Yōgi. The epigraph is dated *S'aka-*

1 61 of 1901; *S. I. I.*, VII, No. 237, p. 120.

nrpa kālātita-samvatsarada 1062 neya Siddhārthi sampat-sarada Vaisākha māsam which evidently refers to Śaka 1062 current corresponding to A.D. 1139 April.¹

Another stone inscription found in the Mahālingaśvara temple at Basarūru, Kundāpūru tāluka, confirms the above titles of the ruler. This epigraph informs us that Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Vira Kavi Ālupendradeva made a gift for providing offerings to the god Ganapati in the presence of the god Nakhareśvara at Basurepura (mod Basarūru). The grant is dated in Śaka 1077, Bhāva, Dhanu Saṅkramana which corresponds to A.D. 1154 December.²

Of these five records the first one, viz., that dated in A.D. 1113-4 calls the king merely as ruling the kingdom—*S'ri Kāvyaālpendra Dēvara rāyadalu*. This suggests that he acknowledged a suzerain in that year. But in A.D. 1138 he is called *Pāṇḍya Cakravarti*, while the *biruda* of *Bhujabala* and the phrase relating to the 'victorious and augmenting reign given above, and as mentioned in his record dated A.D. 1140, clearly indicate his prowess and the stability of his independent kingdom. The *biruda* of Vira prefixed to his name in A.D. 1154 is a further testimony to his independent position.

1. 176 of 1901, S. I. I. VII, No. 381, p. 236, Swamikannu, *And Ephem* III, p. 280.

2. 416 of 1927-8, Swamikannu, *ibid*, p. 311. The god Nakhareśvara is rather an uncommon name. The god Nakhareśvara of Venuesamudra in Āsandi-nād is mentioned in A.D. 1143, A.D. 1240, and in A.D. 1253. E. C. VI. Kd. 99, 100 & 101, pp. 18-19. B. A. S.

A sixth stone record found in the Pañcaliṅgeśvara temple at Kōṭekēri in Bārakūru, conclusively proves that he was an independent king. This epigraph after beginning only with *svasti* proceeds directly to give the imperial titles of the ruler thus.—*Samasta-bhuvanās'raya S'rī-prthvī-vallabha Mahārājādhirāja Parames'vara Paramabhattacharakappa S'rīmat Pāṇḍya Cakravartī Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra Devaru Bārahakanyāpurada aramaneya (la) sukha-sankathā vinodadim rājyam-geyyuttam-tre* (The Refuge of all the worlds, the Favourite of the Earth [and] Fortune, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara Paramabhattacharaka, Śrīmat Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra-deva was ruling the kingdom of the world in peace and wisdom from his palace at Bārahakanyāpura). The date is given thus.—*Sa (S'a) ka-varsa 1077 neya Yuva-samvatsarada Karkkata-māsa prathama-Sōma vāradandu*. This works out correctly to A.D. 1155, June, Monday the 27th¹.

The other details of this interesting record will be given in a later connection. On the strength of this inscription as well as on that of the above, it may be asserted that from about A.D. 1138 till A.D. 1155 Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Vīra Kavi Ālupendradeva continued to rule as an independent king. His capital, we may note incidentally, was named Bārahakanyāpura, the original god (*mūla-deva*) of which was called Mārkaṇḍeśvara.

1. 171 of 1901, *S. I. I.* VII., No. 376, pp. 231-2, Swamikānnu, *Ind. Ephem.*, III., p. 312.

A seventh undated stone inscription relating to the same Ālupa ruler and found also in the same Pañcalingeśvara temple at Kōtekēṟi, will be cited later on while describing the foreign relations of the Ālupas.¹

On the back of a sculptured slab set up near the Gummata statue at Vēnuru is another stone epigraph which may be assigned to the same age. The inscription opens in the usual Ālupa manner with *svasti S ri*, and then continues to relate that for a religious performance (*sarpūjakke*) of the *Mahāmāṇḍa'eśvara* Sevyagellara, a stone was erected to commemorate for a thousand years the exhibition of horsemanship by him (? *S'ri Sevyage larasa sahasra va ś ikke vēḷe vāliyum*) by order of (*besadim*) Kājuva Mainduvālda of the Binni Verggaḍe *balī*. The date given is *Sa (Sa)ka-nṛja kāiṭṭa 1040 neya Vilamhi-suv tsarava Kārti kada Amavāya Budhuvārad'nu* which corresponds to A D. 1118, November the 15th Friday, the week day not corresponding. The phrase used for *Mahāmāṇḍa'eśvara* Sevyagellara is the following:—*Sirppūjakke cālulkeyun ekicchatradin' āldurājyam geyyuttam ire* What the words *sirppūjakke cālulkeyum* stand for, cannot be made out. But from the latter part of the expression, it seems that he was enjoying some sort of independence. The epigraph concludes thus:—*S'ri Sevyagellariyum s'ri yumakke (?) margala mahā śrī*²

We have seen that Kavi Ālupendra ruled also over that portion of Tuḷuva now represented by the Kērkala

1. *I fr* Ch III sec VIII

2. *80 A of 1901*, S. I. I VII, No. 28, p. 131. Swamikanni, *Ind. Ephem.* III, p. 239 On Friday the 15th November there was Amāvāsyā.

tāluka, that his reign began in about A. D. 1113-4, but that it was only from A. D. 1138 that we have evidence of his independent rule. It is possible that *Mahāmaṇḍales'vara* Sevyagellara was either a chieftain of foreign stock who had established himself in about A.D. 1118 within the limits of Tuḷuva in the region which afterwards came to be associated with the Pāṇḍyas; or that he was a member of the Ālupa family who had set himself up as an independent chieftain.¹

The latter supposition seems to be more probable. The beginning and ending of Sevyagellara's Veṇūru inscription confirms this view. And the undated Beḷuvēyi stone inscription of Kavi Ālupendradeva may be recalled here. The absence of the *biradas Vira* and *Bhujala*, and of the phrase-*vijaya-rājyaṃ uttara—uttara—abh vṛddhi pravṛddha-mānam-ācandīṅka-tārāmbaram-saluttam-ire* in the Beḷuvāyi record suggests that when it was engraved Kavi Ālupendra had to contend with an opponent whoever he was. The inclusion of the phrase *eka-cchatradind-āldu rājyaṃ geyyuttam-ire*, on the other hand, in the inscription of the *Mahāmaṇḍales'vara* Sevyagellara, clearly points to an assumption of royal power by that chieftain.

1. There is a Śrī Sivagellarasa mentioned in an incomplete stone inscription found in a field in Rāunagrāma, Holavanahalli, Maddagiri taluka, Mysore State. This epigraph records the death of Śrī Siyagellarasa's servant Raṇāketu's son Deveya, when Nolamba took the Tagalūr fort. *E. C. XII*, Mi 38, p. 108. Rice has assigned it to A.D. 950. We do not know whether Siyagellarasa was the same as Sevyagellarasa. B. A. S.

We may not be wrong in assuming, therefore, that soon after A.D. 1118 or thereabouts, Kavi Ālupendra had to struggle probably against Sevyagellara whose *biruda* of *Mahāmandaleśvara* shows his subordinate position, obviously in the Ālupa family. But it may be observed at the same time that he was the first chieftain to assume that *biruda*, at least so far as the available records are concerned. Whether this is granted or not, it seems certain that during the long reign of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva (*circa* A.D. 1113–A.D. 1155), an independent foreign ruler could not have reigned within the boundaries of the Ālupa kingdom.

Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva's successor was Jagadevarasa. Of this ruler an indirect reference is found in a *viragal* near the Siddheśvara temple in the Bairapura village in the Sāgar hōbli, Shimoga district, Mysore State. The *viragal* narrates the following —“On Thursday the 5th lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the year Tārana, being the 19th year of the illustrious Vira Śāntaradeva, *Obtainer of the band of five musical instruments, Mahāmandaleśvara, possessed of excellent boons from Padmāvatī, delighter in musk, having all these and other titles*”,...—when the Kaḷacuriya king Tribhuvanamalla Bijjanadevarasa was at Kalyāṇa, “The illustrious Hiriya Daṇṇāyaka ordered Araḷaiyan and Padalaiyan of Banavase 12,000 and Siṅḍideva of Hombuccha to lead an attack on Bīrarasa of Hosagunda. Thereupon an army of 10,000 horsemen

and, 50,000 foot-soldiers went to battle". Then the record contains the name of the Ālupa king Jagadevarasa and a description of the heroic deeds of Haḷeyamma, son of Aibisetti, *telliga* (oil-monger) of Nellivādi, and his death.

Dr. Krishna, who has edited and translated this *viragal* in his *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department* for 1930, comments thus:—"This *viragal* describes the exploits of a hero named Haḷeyamma of Nellivādi in a battle against the Ālupa king Jagadevarasa. There was also a fight between Birarasa of Hosagunda and his over-lord Vira Śāntaradeva". Dr. Krishna assigns this *viragal* which contains no Śaka year but only the cyclic year Tārana and the week day, to A.D. 1164 on the strength of the reference to the Kaḷacuriya king Bijjala.¹ With this correct date before us, we shall proceed to locate the Jagadevarasa mentioned above in the Ālupa genealogy.

Vira Śāntara is undoubtedly a Śāntara ruler, as the name signifies. If the date given above is accepted, Vira Śāntara was a contemporary of the Kaḷacuriya

1. *My Archl. Rpt for 1930*, pp 223-6 Dr. Krishna translates the passage thus — "The illustrious Hiriya Dannāyaka Aralaiyan and Paḍalaya of Banavase 12,000 and Singideva of Hombuchcha ordered a military expedition against Birarasa of Hosagunda" (p. 225). This is incorrect, for the original runs thus *Śrīmatu Hiriya dannāyaka ru Aralaiyan nu B. navase-pennur-cchāsida ra-Paḍalaiyya nu Hombuchchad Singidevanum Hosagunda Birarasana mēla nad. duhaga-nalu* (p. 223, ll. 4-6). Here whereas Hiriya Dannāyaka is given the plural, all the others under his command are spoken of in the singular, thus justifying the translation we have given above. B.A.S.

king Bijjaḷa Deva. And since the *vīraḡal* is dated in the nineteenth year of Vīra Śāntara's reign, he may be placed, as Dr. Krishna rightly says, between A.D. 1146 and A.D. 1164 or thereabouts, Bijjaḷa Deva having reigned from A.D. 1156 till A.D. 1167.¹

We have now to fix the dates of the Ālupa king Jagadevarasa and his position in contemporary history. It may be argued that he was the same as the Vīra Jagadeva mentioned in the Pañcalingeśvara stone inscription found at Kōtekeri in Bārakūru. But the following considerations will prove that they were not identical.—

(1) The Pañcalingeśvara temple record calls Jagadeva merely Vīra Jagadeva, while the Siddheśvara temple record styles him Ālupa Jagadeva

1. The identification of the Vīra Śāntara Deva mentioned in this record is a difficult matter. It is clear from the Siddheśvara temple *vīraḡal* that his nineteenth regnal year was A.D. 1146, i.e., his first regnal year was A.D. 1127. But from A.D. 1127 till A.D. 1164 we have six Śāntara names—Vikrama Śāntara (A.D. 1127), Jagadevarasa (A.D. 1129), Bommarasa (A.D. 1132), Rāya Tailapa Deva (A.D. 1139), Jagadevarasa (A.D. 1140), and Singi Deva (A.D. 1145–A.D. 1166) (*E. C. VII*, Sk. 103, pp. 74–75, *ibid*, VIII. Sa. 28, Sa. 93, Sa. 112, Sa. 113, Sa. 114, Sa. 159, and Nr. 47, pp. 108, 115, 122–123, 151–2.) But a Vīra Śāntara Deva figures in the records of A.D. 1170, A.D. 1173, A.D. 1191, and A.D. 1194. (*E. C. VIII*, Sa. 116, p. 116, *ibid*, VII Sh. 116, p. 37, Sk. 38, p. 49, *My. Arch. Rpt.* for 1931, pp. 204–208; and *ibid* for 1930, pp. 220–222). What the Kalacuriya monarch Bijjaladeva had to do with Banavase is apparent from two records dated A.D. 1162 respectively. These mention king Pāndya in the Nolambavāḍi and Barmarasa Dannāyaka over the Banavase 12,000, under the same monarch. (*E. C. XI*, Dg. 42, Dg. 84, pp. 54, 61). A further elucidation of this question is outside the present limits of our treatise. B. A. S.

(2) Vīra Jagadeva of the Pañcalingeśvara temple inscription has been assigned to A.D. 1104–A.D. 1149-50, i.e., he has been given a period of nearly forty-five years. The Ālupa Jagadeva being a contemporary of Vīra Śāntara and of king Bijjala Deva must be placed between A.D. 1146 and A.D. 1176. If he were the same as the Vīra Jagadeva of the Pañcalingeśvara temple inscription, he would have to be given an unusually long reign from A.D. 1104 till A.D. 1176. This is inadmissible.

(3) We know from Ālupa records that Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra ruled from A.D. 1113 till A.D. 1155. It cannot be that another Ālupa king reigned at the same time.

We have, therefore, to place Ālupa Jagadeva either before Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra or after him. The former is inadmissible, because Ālupa Jagadeva was a contemporary of Vīra Śāntara and of king Bijjala Deva. Hence he must be placed between A.D. 1146 and A.D. 1176. We know that there is a gap in the Ālupa genealogy after Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra and before Kulaśekhara Ālupendra whose first year is A.D. 1170. Ālupa Jagadeva fills in this gap between Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra and Kulaśekhara Ālupendra. If this is allowed, then, Ālupa Jagadeva ruled from A.D. 1155, till A.D. 1170. Only in this way can we reconcile the date A.D. 1164 given to the *viragal* by Dr. Krishna with the chronological difficulties of the Ālupa kings in the period after Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra and before Kulaśekhara Ālupendra.

One question, however, remains still to be discussed—the status of Ālupa Jagadeva in the Siddheśvara record. From Dr. Kṛṣṇa's note given above, it is not clear whether we have to take Ālupa Jagadeva as an ally or enemy of Vīra Śāntara Deva. What seems certain is that Bīrarasa of Hosagunda had taken the offensive; that Hīriya Daṇṇāyaka ordered Araḷaiyan, Padaḷaiyan, and Siṅgideva to concert measures against him; and that Haleyyamma of Nellivāḍi died the death of a hero. Dr. Kṛṣṇa's note seems to suggest that there were two fights—one in which Haleyyamma lost his life against Ālupa Jagadevarasa, and the other in which Bīrarasa of Hosagunda fought against his overlord Vīra Śāntara.

But this may be questioned. The *vīragal* mentions only *one* encounter, and it does not suggest that Vīra Śāntara was the overlord of Bīrarasa of Hosagunda. That the *vīragal* describes only one encounter can be found out by noticing how and when Ālupa Jagadeva comes in the story. The original clearly says that on the attack made by Bīrarasa of Hosagunda, 10,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry were called to action. These numbers are significant—the offensive conducted by Bīrarasa was evidently of a very serious nature necessitating the united action of three provincial officials.

It was to meet such a grave contingency that Ālupa Jagadeva's aid was called into requisition. We prove that he was asked to join the battle against Bīrarasa from the context itself which relates that when 10,000

cavalry and 50,000 infantry had gone to war (*hat[t]u sāsira kudure aivattu sāsira-āla-daḷa dhurake hodalli*), the Ālva king Jagadevarasa from below the Ghats (being a party) in the struggle, proceeded, ravaging the districts (*Ghatada kelagana Ālvarasu Jagadevarasan-olagāgi naḍedu-nāda-kīḍisuttav iralu*). Ālupa Jagadeva's position can best be understood by noting the meaning of the phrase *olagāgi naḍedu* which may be interpreted thus—"came in the struggle (and) proceeded." The inscription does not warrant the supposition that Ālupā Jagadevarasa was accompanied by others. It merely records his participation in the battle and the havoc he caused in the country (of the enemy)

The exploits of Haleymma were evidently directed against Bīrarasa and not against Ālupa Jagadeva, although it must be confessed that the reference to the army which burnt Gauja and which was marching to Andāsara is not ascertainable

¹ We have now to explain why Ālupa Jagadeva could not have fought against Vīra Śāntara, and why Bīrarasa could not have been a feudatory of the latter. If our identification of Ālupa Jagadevarasa mentioned in the Siddheśvara temple record with the successor of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra is correct, then, Ālupa Jagadeva could not have led an army against the Śāntara king. It was only in the preceding reign of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra that the Ālupa-Śāntara alliance had been cemented by a marriage between that Ālupa king and a Śāntara princess. Until the contrary is proved,

we have to assume that this good feeling continued in the times of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra's successor; and that Ālupa Jagadevarasa marched against Bīrarasa of Hosagunda on behalf of his ally Vīra Śāntara Deva.

As against this the following may be argued:—That the inscription mentions the Ālupa king as *Ālvarasu Jagadevarasanu*, thereby calling him in the singular. The Hosagunda ruler is likewise called in the singular—*Hosagundada Bīrarasana mēle*. This proves that both Bīrarasa and Jagadevarasa were enemies to the Śāntara king. But this objection is of no avail. Vīra Śāntara himself is styled merely *S'rimatu Vīra S'āntara Deva*, and no plural termination is appended to his name. Likewise the three provincial officials who helped Hīriya Daṇṇāyaka, viz., Araḷaiyan, Paḍalaiyan of Banavase 12,000, and Singideva of Humbuccha, are called in the singular. The reason seems to be that the scribe mentions with respect only the provincial viceroy, the illustrious (*S'rimatu*) Hīriya Daṇṇāyaka, and the suzerain Bijjala Deva.

The second objection that may be raised against our surmise is that the Hosagunda rulers, as shown elsewhere in this treatise, were called "Shaker of the Tuḷu Rāya", 'Promoter of the Tuḷu kingdom,' "Establisher of the Tuḷu Rāya"; that these three *birudas* were borne by the later Hosagunda chiefs evidently in commemoration of the help which Bīrarasa of Hosagunda had given to Ālupa Jagadeva; and that, therefore, we have to suppose that Ālupa

Jagadeva really helped Bīrarasa against Vīra Śāntara. These considerations are invalidated by the fact that the *birudas* in question were borne by Hosagunda chiefs in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. They are not of any use for our purpose.

Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Vīra Kulaśekhara Ālupendra I succeeded Ālupa Jagadevarasa. Of this ruler five stone inscriptions have been found in Tuluva:—the stone inscription in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Basarūru in the Kundāpūru tāluka, an unfinished stone record found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Kōṭa in the Uḍipi tāluka; two defaced stone inscriptions found in the Gauri temple in that quarter of Mūḍubidre called Prāntya; and a stone slab set up in front of the verandah of the Nemīśvara *basti* in Varaṅga, also in the Kārkala tāluka.

The Mahālingeśvara temple record found at Basarūru is a damaged epigraph but is dated only in the cyclic year Manmatha, Makaramāsa, 18, Monday. The cyclic year corresponds to Śaka 1098 (A.D. 1176) and the date intended is probably January the 12th Monday. It merely records a gift to the temple of Nakhareśvara of the *pattana* Basarūru. The king is given the following *birudas*—*Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta*, *Soma-kula-tilaka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rājaparames'vara*, *Paramabhattacharakar-appa*, *S'rimat Pāṇḍya Cakravarti Kulas'ekharadeva*.¹

1. 419 of 1927-8; Ep. Rep. for 1927-8, p. 44

The unfinished and undated stone epigraph also of the same ruler but found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Kōṭa only mentions (a gift to) the god of Kōṭa.¹

The two defaced stone inscriptions of this ruler found in the Gauri temple at Prāntya in Mūḍubidre may now be examined. The earlier of these two records is dated *Sa(S'a)ka-nṛpa kālātita samvatsara 112 (7) neya Krodhana samvatsarada Mesa mūsa 17 neya Ādivāradandu*. This corresponds correctly to A.D. 1205 April the 10th Sunday.²

Opening in the usual Ālupa manner, it proceeds to give the *birudas* of the ruler thus.—*Pāndya Cakravarti Ko (Ku) lase (s'e) khara Āḷvendra-devar*, and then relates that under the shadow of his sole umbrella (*eka-cchatra-diṃ rājyaṃ geyyuttam ire*), (on the given date), a deed of charity (*dharma-kārya*) was made by some prominent citizens including a *Mahāpradhāna*, whose name is effaced, and others for the goddess Durgā. On this occasion a grant of land from their *brahmadeya* estates to the same goddess was made by Jjhuṅkunjanā Deva, his son Narena Inā (Jjhana?) Deva, and his son-in-law Vāsu Deva, embodying the same in a stone inscription (*śilā likhida [likhita] śāsanam*).³

In the other stone inscription also found in the same Gauri temple, we have the following *birudas* given to the ruler.—*S'rīmat Pāndya Cakravarti Rāya Bhujabaḷa*

1. 507 of 1928-9

2. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, IV, p. 12

3. 52 of 1901; *S. I. I.*, VII, No. 223, p. 112.

(la) *Vira Kola (Kula) Se (S'e) khara Ālendra deva*. His victorious and increasing reign is given thus :—*vije (ja) ya-rāṇyam-uttara-uttara-abhivṛddhi-pravṛddha-mānam-ācandrārkkā-tārāmbaradim sukha-sankathā-vinodadim saluttav (m) -ire* The inscription is dated in *Vī (su) s'o manāḷu 158 (0) 1 (6) 2 (?) Kalīyuga varī (ru) sa (ṣa) 4315 sand-andu 6 ru māle nadu (vu) tird-andu Yuva samvatsarada Kes'ava māsa prathama dina...Vad (ḍ) a vāram*. This corresponds to S'aka 1137 Yuva (A.D. 1215 April the 16th Thursday). The details of the grant to the goddess Durgā and to the Jaina Tīrthankara Pārśvanātha that follow are defaced. Nevertheless they will be discussed later on while dealing with the history of the religion under the Ālupas. The Vīra Pāṇḍya Deva mentioned in this record could only have been Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Vīra Pāṇḍya Ālupendra referred to above in this treatise. The record under review breaks off at the end!

iii. The patronage which Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Kavi Kulāśekhara Ālupendra extended to the Jaina religion, as is proved by the above record, is further corroborated by a long but undated and damaged inscription on a slab set up in front of the verandah of the Nemiśvara basti in Varāṅga in the Kārkala tāluka. It is this record

1. 51 of 1901, S. I. I. VII, No. 222, pp. 111-2, Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephe.*, IV, p. 32. Kalī 4315 expired = Kalī 4310 current which agrees with Śaka 1137. I am unable to interpret the figures preceding Kalīyuga in this record. Mr. Rama Rao informs me that Kesavamāsa is equivalent probably to Mādhava which is the same as Vaisākha. In the present reckoning it has been taken as Vaisākha, B. A. S.

that gives us the name of Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra's predecessor as Pāṇḍya Paṭṭodeya whom we identified with Udayādityarasa Pāṇḍya Paṭṭigadeva Ālupa above. The inscription further supplies us with the names of the queen Jākala Mahādevi's younger brother Vīra Bhūpāla (*ā Ma [hādevi] ya anuja*) who is praised thus—*dāva (na)-S'aurya-sāra* Vīra Bhūpāla. It was he who made public the grant given by Jākala Mahādevi. The inscription gives further the names of Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya, and of the three Jaina priests Maladhāri Deva, Mādhavacandra, and Prabhācandra.

The reign of Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendra-deva I was the longest in Ālupa history. According to the direct evidence of the epigraphs given above, his rule lasted from A.D. 1176 till A.D. 1215. But on the strength of an inscription concerning the well-known Konkani ruler Jayakesi I, to be mentioned in a later context, we believe that the first year of Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva was A.D. 1170. There cannot be any doubt that Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I ruled for forty-five years from A.D. 1170 till A.D. 1215. His age is memorable not only from the point of view of its length but also from the standpoint of the stability of the Ālupa kingdom. We have

1. 526 of 1928-29, *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9* pp. 79-80. See also *Ep. Rept. for 1927-8*, pp. 59-60 where Mr. Venkoba Rao rightly identifies Kulaśekhara Deva of 419 of 1927-8 with Kulaśekhara Deva of 52 of 1901. In 526 of 1928-9 the following *birudas* precede the name Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya—*ṛṣṭi-prasādhya vidyā-vilāsiṇi suvarṇa-kunḍala-abharaṇa. Pi(ā)ndita Pāṇḍyan-erisi Pāṇḍya-nanda, etc.*

seen the assertion made in his records that his was a victorious and augmenting reign. The praise bestowed on him in the epigraphs seems justified. for to preserve the integrity of the Ālupa kingdom which his predecessor Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra had firmly established, inspite of the many aggressive designs of foreign Karnāṭaka rulers, was indeed a remarkable achievement. We shall deal with the troubles in the reign of this ruler, while delineating the foreign relations of the Ālupas.

Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva I's successor was Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin. This is inferred from the Nemīśvara *baṣṭi* inscription which narrates the following :—*alle baliyam Pattī-Oḍeya Kuḷasekhara-deva rajyā-nanīaram Rāya-gajāṅkuṣaṇ immaḍiḍa rājan Nūrmmaḍi-Cakraoarti dāna-cintāmani catus-samudra-mudrita-kīrti-kāntā-manooallabhan-enisi* ¹. The absence of the intervening names of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva and of Jagadevarasa in this context is for the present inexplicable. However, we may note that Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin had the *biruda* of *Rāya-gajāṅkuṣa*, and that he seems to have been celebrated for his gifts as the *birudas* "A wishing gem (Philosopher's Stone) of charity", and "the Favourite of the lady Fame who had spread to the limits of the four seas", clearly imply. Since it is stated in the epigraph that he came after Kuḷasekhara Ālupendradeva, he may be assigned to the period intervening between Kuḷasekhara Ālupendradeva I and Vibudha-

1. 526 of 1928-9.

vasu. He may, therefore, have reigned from A.D. 1216 till A.D. 1246.¹

Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin's successor was Vibudhavasū. The sources of information for the reign of this king are the *Grāmapaddhati* and a stone inscription found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Kōṭa in the Uḍipi tāluka. The Puttige *matha* version of the *Grāmapaddhati* merely calls him Vasu but describes him at some length, thus :—Once there was a king named Vasu. He was the substance of virtue, and was known as Indra of the Earth. While he ruled, the earth was filled with plenty, and falsehood and thieving were unknown. He was highly learned and well versed in the science of politics (*purā tu pāṛthivah kascit āsit sāra-guṇānvitah, nāmnā Vasuh iti khyātah yam viduh bhūpurandaram. tasmin śāsati bhūpāle kṣonim sarvasamrddhinim; anrtatvam taskaratvam nāsti-iti āhuh manisinaḥ. mahā-prājñah nīti-śāstraviśāradaḥ*). We shall have to refer to this again while describing the judicial procedure common in ancient Tuluva.²

That king Vasu of the *Gramapaddhati* belonged to the Ālupa family there cannot be any doubt. The Mahālingeśvara temple stone inscription of this ruler, dated Śaka 1166, Ānanda (A.D. 1244-5), maintains that he belonged to the Pāṇḍya line, and that he gave a

1. The Government Epigraphist (Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer) makes Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin, Vīra Bhūpāla, and Kundana brothers. *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle for 1928-9*, pp. 79-80. But in the transcript sent to me the name Kundana cannot be traced. The meaning of *alle baliyam* and *immadida rājan* is not clear. B. A. S.

2. The Puttige version. *Infra* Ch. V.

village valued at 1,000 pagodas as a gift,¹ evidently to the same temple. We have seen that the Ālupa rulers of this age assumed the cognomen Pāṇḍya. This explains why Vibudhavasū is called a ruler who belonged to the Pāṇḍya line. The Pāṇḍya family mentioned here does not refer to the Pāṇḍyas of Madura at all but to another family who had nothing to do with them. For our purpose we may note that Vibudhavasū's reign fits in very well the gap between Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin and Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I.²

His successor was Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I. Eight stone inscriptions of this ruler and a ninth concerning his crowned queen have been found in Tuḷuva. These are the stone inscriptions in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Kōṭa in the Uḍipi tāluka; another stone epigraph in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Brahmāvūru also in the same tāluka; a third one in the Maḥiśāsūramardinī temple at Nīlāvara also in the same tāluka; a fourth one in the Koṭeśvara temple at Koṭeśvara in the Kundāpūru tāluka; a fifth inscription found in the Kundēśvara temple at Kundāpūru; and a sixth discovered in the Viṣṇu temple at Puttige in the Uḍipi tāluka. Two more inscriptions found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Padūru in the Uḍipi tāluka, may also be assigned to the reign of the same ruler. The ninth stone inscription which mentions his queen

1. Rangachari, *Top. List.* I No. 217, p. 869.

2. It may be that Vasu was given the title of *Vibudha* (the Wise) because of his learning. B. A. S.

was found in the Mahisāsūramardini temple in Nilāvara in the same tāluka.

The stone inscription found in the Mahālingēśvara temple at Kōṭa supplies the earliest date for Vīra Pāṇḍya Deva Ālupendradeva. It is dated Śaka 1177 when Jupiter was in Mithuna, Ānanda, Bhādrapada, Bahuḷa, 10 Sunday, Kanyā 10 which agrees, but for the week day which happens to be Monday, with 7 September A.D. 1254. The record embodies an order issued by the king in the presence of Aḷiya Bankideva, Maḍuna (brother-in-law) Oḍḍamadeva, Ballaveggaḍe, and "the 'Thousand of Kotta'", i.e., Kōṭa (*Kōttada sāsirvarum*), while he was ruling from his capital Bārahakanyāpura. It cannot be made out whether the Aḷiya Bankideva was the king's nephew or his son-in-law, and whether he is to be identified with a ruler of the same name whose earliest record, as will be narrated presently, is dated A.D. 1302. The Ālupa ruler is styled thus—*Vīra Pāṇḍya Ālupendradevara vijayarājyam-uttara-uttara pravarddhamānam ācandrārka tārāmbaram saluttam-irddu*.¹

The next stone inscription found in the Mahālingēśvara temple at Brahmāvūru is dated Śaka 1177 when Jupiter was in Mithuna, Ānanda, Āśvayīja (Āśvija), Śu. 15, Monday, Kanyā 30 Saṅkramaṇa Monday, which agrees with Monday the 28th September A.D. 1254. This record opens with a salutation to Gaṇapati (*S'ri Gaṇādhipataye namah*). The king, who is called Pāṇḍya

1. 509 of 1928-9. *Ep. Rep. for 1928-9*, p. 57.

Cakravartin Arirāya-Gajakesarīn Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva, is said to have been seated in the durbar hall in his palace at Bārahakanyāpura with Aliya Bankideva, Maiduna Oḍḍamadeva, Ballaveggaḍe, ministers (*pradhānaru*) and *purohīts*, when he made a gift to the Two Hundred (*Brahmavūradalī nūrvōarige*) of Brahmāvūru.¹

While seated in the same palace at Bārahakanyāpura along with the same nephew and Oḍḍamadeva Narasinga Heggade, the ministers, and the *purohīts*, Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva made a gift (of gold) to the Three Hundred of Niruvāra (*Niruvārada munnūvōarige*), as is related in the damaged stone record found in the Mahiṣāsūramardīnī temple at Nīlāvāra, in the Uḍipi tāluka. The date of this inscription is given thus :—Śaka 1181, Pingaḷa, Phālgūṇa, Bahuḷa 5, Sunday, when Jupiter was in Kanyā, Mīna 1, Saturday which corresponds to February the 24th Sunday and February the 23rd Saturday A.D. 1258. The king is expressly stated in this record to have been seated on the throne in the older (senior) palace at Bārahakanyāpura (*S'rimatu rājadhānī Bārahakanyāpurada hīriya-aramaneyala*).²

The Koteśvara temple stone epigraph found at Koteśvara in the Kundāpūru tāluka records a similar gift of gold. Here the Three Hundred of Kuḍikūra are said to have assembled at Bārahakanyāpura and the king's brother-in-law Oḍḍamadeva and Narasinga

1. 485 of 1928-9, *Ep. Rept. for 1927-8*, p. 57.

2. 490 of 1928-9; *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 58. This record enables us to assert that Niruvāra was the earlier name of Nīlāvāra.

Heggade are again mentioned. The inscription is dated Śaka 1183, Durmati, Mārgaśīrsa, Śu 6, Tuesday Dhanus, 3, which corresponds to Tuesday the 29th November A.D. 1261. The ruler is given the *birūḍas Pārḍya Cakravartī Arirāya Gajakesari*, and is again said to be ruling from his *sthira śimhāsana* (firm throne) at Bārahakanyāpura.¹

The Kundeśvara temple inscription styles the king *Pārḍya devarasa Ālupendrarasa*, and describes him as ruling from the same capital with his crowned queen (*pattada mahiṣī*), his *maicūna* Oḍḍamadeva, Narasinga Heggade, the *senabova*, the *adhikāri*, the *purohita*, and others; and to have fixed 140 and 180 *samudāya gadyāṇas* as the annual imposts leviable from the villages of Kundāpūru and Kuḍikūra respectively. The date of this inscription is Śaka 1184, Dundhubi, Śravana, Bahuḷa 13, Sunday Simha 16. It agrees with Sunday the 13th August A.D. 1262.² The name of the crowned queen, as ascertained from another record to be mentioned later on, was Balla Mahādevī.

In the Viṣnumūrti temple at Puttige in the Udipi tāluka is a damaged stone inscription also of the same ruler. It is dated only in the cyclic year Prabhavā, Simha, but is assignable to Śaka 1190 (July-August A.D. 1267). The epigraph records a royal order made in the presence of the *pradhānas* (ministers) and other officers,

1. 370 of 1927; *Ep. Rep. for 1926-7*, pp. 62, 108 9.

2. 364 of 1927; *Ep. Rep. for 1926-7*, pp. 62, 108 9.

and issued from Bāra(ha)kanyāpura. The *biruda* of *Vīra* is given to the king in this inscription.¹

It cannot be determined whether Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Gajakesari Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva ruled only from A.D. 1254 till A.D. 1267. From the above record it is clear that the king's firm throne (*sthira simhāsana*) was always at Bārakūru which, it must be noted, is consistently styled Bārahakanyāpura. His last date cannot be determined but it is not improbable that he ruled till A.D. 1277-8 or thereabouts.

Two stone inscriptions of the same ruler have been found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Padūru in the Uḍipi tāluka. Unfortunately both are damaged but both clearly give the name of the king as Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva. One of these is undated, and in the other, which seems to record a gift of land, the date is lost.² The main reason why these two records are assigned to the reign of this ruler is that they were found in one of the Śaivite centres of the Uḍipi tāluka. It is true that one of the inscriptions of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva II was also found in the Uḍipi tāluka. But, on the whole, the inscriptions of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva II and of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva III were found in the Mangalore and Kārkaḷa tālukas.

1. 500 of 1928-9; Swamikannu, *Ind Ephem.*, IV, p. 137.

2. 367 and 368 of 1930-1931.

The year A.D. 1277 witnessed the regime of his crowned queen Balla Mahādevī. A stone inscription found in the Mahīśāsūramardhinī temple at Nilāvāra in the Uḍipi tāluka, styles her as the *pattada piriyaṛasi* (the senior crowned queen). It describes her as ruling the country (*śrīmatu pattada piriyaṛasi Balla-mahādevi-yaru vijaya-rājyam-uttara-uttara-abhivṛddhi pravardhamāna ācandrārkkā tārāmbaram-saluttam-irddā*). The epigraph states that a specified endowment in money (100 *honnu*) was made to the goddess Bhagavatī of the temple of Niruvāra in the presence of all the *pradhānas*, *deśa-puruṣas*, *oḍeyas*, *adhikāris*, and the important representatives of the village of Niruvāra (*Niruvārada grāmadavaru*). The inscription is dated Śaka 120 (1), Īśvara, Kanyā 15, Sunday. The cyclic year Īśvara corresponds, however, to Śaka 1199 (expired), and the other details evidently stand for A.D. 1277, September the 12th Sunday.¹

The succession devolved on her son Nāgadevarasa. Two damaged inscriptions of this ruler have been found in the Mahāliṅgeśvara temple at Basarūru in the Kundāpūru tāluka. The earlier of the two is a damaged record dated Śaka 1213 Khara, Māgha Bahuḷa 10, Thursday, Kumbha 20 which agrees but for the last detail which ought to be Kumbha 21, with A.D. 1292 February the 14th Thursday. Nāgadevarasa is called in this record the son of Balla Mahādevī, and is said to be ruling from the capital Bārahakanyāpura. It

1. 491 of 1928-9, *Ep. Rept. for 1928-29*, pp. 58, 80.

registers a gift of a flower garden to the god Nakhareśvara of Basarūru.¹

The other damaged inscription, also found in the same temple, is dated Śaka 1220 Kumbha 20 which corresponds to (Śaka 1220, the cyclic year being Viḷamba) A.D. 1299, February the 13th Friday. It commemorates a gift also to the same god in the same temple.²

Of the next ruler Bankideva Ālupendradeva II, four stone epigraphs have been found. The first of these was discovered in the Gollara Gaṇapati temple at Mangalore; the second at Kariyaṅgaḷa near Poḷali Ammuṇije in the same tāluka, the third in the Mañjunātha temple at Kadri near Mangalore; and the fourth in a field in the village of Sujeru, Mangalore tāluka. The Gollara Gaṇapati stone inscription gives him the following *birudas*.—*Pāṇḍya Cakravartin, Rāya-Gajāṅkuṣa*, and calls him Bankideva Ālupendradeva. His independent status is proved by the following phrases used in the same inscription :—*vijaya-rājyam-uttara-uttara-abhivṛddhi-pravarddhamāna-ācandrārka-tārāmbaram (saluttam-ire) duṣṭha-nigraha-śiṣṭha-pratipālanar-āgi sukha sankathā-vinodadiṃ rājyam geyyuttam irdda*.

The date given in the above inscription is the following:—*S'aka-abda 1225 neya S'ubha kṛta samvatsarada Mesa māsa 7 neya Ā (di)* which corresponds to Sunday

1. 415 of 1927-8, *Ep. Rept for 1927-8*, p. 49.

2. 420 of 1927-8, *Swamikannu, Ind. Ephem.* IV p. 198.

April the 1st A.D. 1302.¹ The inscription then continues to narrate that in that part of the palace of the capital Mangalāpura called Mogasāle, where the king was holding the durbar on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of the great queen Mocala Mahādevī (*śrīmatu rājadhāni Mangalāpurada aramaneya Mogasāleyal-ōlaguṃ-kott iralu munna tammadiyakke Mocala mahādeviyaro svargastar-āda avara pinda-pradānadalu*), certain grants of land (specified) were made to Kādu Vāmana for the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. This epigraph, we may incidentally observe, is called a *śilā-sanketamaṃ*, evidently because it was an agreement arrived at by the people and the king. In fact, the last sentence invokes a blessing on the ruler who was present on the occasion — *endu barada śilā-sanketamaṃ kēlda śrīmat Ar (a) sarge mangala-mahāśrī*.²

The identity of the great queen Mocala Mahādevī is uncertain. But the use of the epithet *Mahādevī* and the absence of the term *pattada piriyyarasi* or *pattada mahisī* suggest that she may have been the mother of Bankideva Ālupendra. If we take the death anniversary of the queen mentioned in the record to be the first of its kind, she may have died in A.D. 1301.

1. and (2) 17 of 1901. *S. I. I.* VII, No. 177, p. 75. On the same page of *S. I. I.*, a is interpreted as Āśādha, and 8 is substituted for 7. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, IV. p. 206. Kittel refers to a stone inscription dated Śālivāhana Śaka 1225 found in front of a temple that was then called Niradevālaya and at present dedicated to Hanumanta in which the name Mangalāpura is mentioned. *Kannada-Eng. Dicty*, p. 1180. Evidently the inscription referred to is the one under discussion. R A C

The second stone inscription belonging to this ruler was found at Kariyaṅgaḷa, near Poḷali Animuniḷe in the same tāḷuka. It is dated only in the cyclic year Krodhana (Krodhin), Sīmha 15 which corresponds to Śaka 1226 (A.D. 1304 August, Wednesday the 12th). The inscription records a gift of land to the temple of Holaladevā (? devī) by a Brahman in the reign of Bankidevarasa.¹

A third inscription of the same king is the delaced stone record found in the Mañjunātha temple at Kadri near Mangalore. This undated epigraph gives the *birudas Pāṇḍya Cakravartin (Rā) ya-Gajāṅkuṣa* to the king Bankideva Ālupendra, and informs us that in the course of his increasing and victorious reign, while he was protecting the virtuous and punishing the wicked (*vijaya rājyam uttara-uttara abhivṛddhi pravarddhamāna [mā candrāḷka tā] rāmbaraṃ [saluttam-ire] dustha-nigraha-siṣtha pratipālana*), and then breaks off.² The similarity of the *birudas* and the phrases describing his independent rule mentioned in the above inscription with those given in the Gollara Gaṇapati temple inscription, suggests beyond any doubt that both the records are to be referred to the same ruler.

The Sujeru stone inscription is dated Śaka 1228, Viśvāvasu, Sīmha 18, Sunday which corresponds correctly to A.D. 1305, August, Sunday the 15th. This is a unique record which shows how carefully the Ālupa

1 377 of 1927-8, Swamikannu, *Ind. Epem.*, IV, p. 211.

2. 26 of 1901; *S. I. I.* VII, No. 188, p. 84.

kings looked after the material welfare of their subjects. Its importance will be discussed in a subsequent section on the features of Ālupa administration ¹

7. LATER ĀLUPAS AND THE BEGINNING OF THE DECLINE

Soyideva Ālupendradeva succeeded Bankideva Ālupendradeva. It cannot be determined how long the latter's rule lasted. But from the fact that the earliest inscription of Soyideva Ālupendradeva is dated A.D. 1315, it is permissible to surmise that Bankideva Ālupendradeva's reign lasted till A.D. 1314-5. Five stone epigraphs of the reign of Soyideva Ālupendradeva have been found, while a sixth record, mentioning one who was obviously a member of the royal family, falls within his reign. The five stone records are the following :—a stone inscription found in the Somanāthesvara temple at Manigārakēri in Bārakūru; a stone epigraph discovered in a place called Dammaraguḍḍe in Paḍebetṭu, Uḍipi tāluka, a stone record found under a peepul tree in Kāpu also in the Uḍipi tāluka; another one found in the Mahālingesvara temple at Uḍipi; and a damaged one discovered in the Anantapadmanābhasvāmi temple at Kuḍupu in the Mangalore tāluka. The sixth stone inscription falling within the reign of Soyideva Ālupendradeva is also much damaged. It was discovered in the Nemīśvara *basti* at Varaṅga in the Kārkaḷa tāluka.

1. 338 of 1930-1931, *Swamikannu, Ind. Eph.* IV p. 213.

The Somanātheśvara temple stone inscription found in the Manigārakēri begins in the usual Ālupa manner with *svasti śrīmat*, and gives the following *birudas* to Soyideva Ālupendradeva.—*Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Arirāya Basava S'ankara Deva* Of these the second is a new *biruda* altogether. The phrase *vije (ja)ya-rājya-udayam-uttara-abhivṛddhimānam-ācandrārkkā-tārāmbaram saluttam irdda* suggests that he was enjoying an independent kingdom. But, as we shall point out in a later connection, the Ālupa power was now beginning gradually to decline. The date of the above record, however, is given as *S'aka-varusa 1238 Rāksasa samvatsarada Mārgas (ś) ira Su-(S'u) dd (h) a 13 (Vr) ścika-māsa 13 Sōmavāra*. The cyclic year for Śaka 1238 was Anala; and Vṛścika 13 Monday would mean A.D. 1316 November the 9th Tuesday. We have, therefore, to assume that the date intended was probably Śaka 1237 *expired* in which case it works out correctly to A.D. 1315 November, Monday the 10th. The ruler is represented as being in the palace in Bārahakanyāpura, and not Bārakāntupura, as has been wrongly read by the Madras Government Epigraphist. The king is described to be seated on the golden throne (*suvarṇa-simhāsana-ārūḍhar-āgi*, and not *unnata-simhasana-ārūḍharāgi*, as has been supposed by the same writer), and holding his durbar (*ōḍḍōlagam kott-irda-prastā-va-doḷa*). The inscription which is unfortunately effaced in many places, records a grant for the offerings of the god Somanātha of Manigārakēri. It was made by Bankidevarasa, the nephew of the ruler (... *vāḷvara*

baḷiya [*aliya*] *Bankidevarasaru*) to Banki Senabova's (man ?) Annadāta Heggade. The importance of this epigraph will be made clear while describing the administration under the Ālupas.¹

The second is a damaged stone inscription found in a place called Dammaraguḍḍe, about a mile to the north of the Subrahmanya temple in the Paḍebettu village, Uḍipi tāluka. It is dated Śaka 12 (46 Raktāk-si) which corresponds to A. D. 1324-5. The ruler is called Vīra (So) yideva Ālupendradeva. This record seems to register a gift of money-income to the temple of Kōtīśvara by the king. It mentions the *Mahāpradhāna* So (va) nna Sēnabova and Siṅgana Sāhani.²

The Kāpu stone inscription of the same ruler gives him the same *birudās* and the same phrase regarding his independent rule. It is dated *S'ri S'aka-varusa 1247 (neya) Rakatāksi (samvatsarada) Kanyā* ... The cyclic year Raktāksi corresponds to Śaka 1246 and not to Śaka 1247 the cyclic year of which was Krodhana. The date intended is probably Śaka 1246 (A.D. 1324, September). This is another defaced inscription which clearly describes the king as seated on the golden throne (*s[u] varna*

1. 151 of 1901, *S. I. I.* VII. No. 354, p. 212; Swamikannu, *Ind Éphem.* IV. pp. 232-235. The cyclic year for Śaka 1237 was Rāksasa. But instead of Mrgasīrsa, there is Nija and Vṛścika 13 corresponds correctly to November the 10th Monday. Swamikannu, *ibid.*, p. 233 B. A. S.

2. 374 of 1930-1. The latter part of the date is by no means certain. On the back of this slab is a much mutilated Kannada inscription of the Vijayanagara times, mentioning an Oḍeya and some

(*simhāsa*) *na ārūḍhar-āgi*) at Bārahakanyāpura, and holding the durbar (*oḍḍolagam-kott-īralu*). It records a grant of land (details effaced) made at the request of Śrīmān *Mahāpradhāna* Singana Sāhani and the officials called *eraḍu-kōla bali niyogis*.¹

The Mahālingēśvara temple inscription of Uḍipⁱ begins directly with the date which is given thus: *Prabhava samvacch (ts) arada Āśāḍha Ba(hula) 3 Ma. Karkkātaka māsa 9 Mangalavāra di*. The cyclic year *Prabhava* corresponds to Śaka 1249 but the week day however does not correspond. The date is perhaps meant for Śaka 1249 (A.D. 1327) July, Wednesday the 8th and not Tuesday. The king is given the same *biradas* as in the above Kāpu inscription. The *Mahāpradhāna* Singana Sāhani (but called in this record Sahaṇi), along with Bhōṣana (Bhūṣana ?) Adhikāri, Koḍakala Nāyaka of Naḍapu and others, gave certain specified forest land for the (services of the) god of Tāre-guḍḍe. The epigraph concludes with an imprecation that he who violates the grant would suffer the sins of killing cows in Vāraṇāsi. The engraver's name is given in Devanagari characters as Śrādhara-nathā which is evidently an error for Śrīdharanātha.²

The fifth inscription of the same ruler was discovered in the Anantapadmanābhasvāmi temple

1. 22 of 1901, S. I. I. VII No. 274, p. 141, Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephes.* p. 250.

2. 118 A. of 1901, S. I. I. VII. No., 308, p. 159, Swamikannu *ibid*, IV, p. 257.

at Kuḍupu. This damaged epigraph calls the king Vira Soyirāya and adds a third *biruda* to the two already mentioned above—that of *Rāya-Gajānkaśa* which, as we have already seen, was assumed by Soyideva Ālupendradeva's (father and) predecessor Bankideva Ālupendradeva. The inscription under review is dated only in the cyclic year Bhava Kumbha 22 (Wednesday) which corresponds to Śaka 1257 (A. D. 1335 February Wednesday the 15th). An official named Mainda Heggade is mentioned in the record.¹

The sixth stone inscription which falls within the reign of Soyideva Ālupendradeva but which was not evidently issued by him is a damaged record found in the Nemīśvara *basti* at Varaṅga in the Kārkaṭa tāluka. It mentions a chief named Gopīśvararāya, who is given the *birudas* of *Pandita Pāṇḍya*, *Pāṇḍya Dhanañjaya*, and *Arirāya Basava S'ankara*. The name of the *sarvādhikāri* Narasiṅga also occurs in the inscription. It is dated Śaka 1 (25) 4 Āṅgīrasa (Mithuna), Śu. 10, Thursday which works out to A.D. 1332 June the 4th Thursday.²

We have seen that in the undated stone slab set up in the verandah of the same *basti* at Varaṅga, belonging to the reign of Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Kuṭaśekharadeva Ālupendradeva, already cited above, the name Pāṇḍya Dhanañjaya appeared as a *biruda* of Paṭṭodeya, while a prince named Pi(a)ṇḍita Pāṇḍya was also mentioned.³

1. 461 of 1928-9, *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 58.

2. 527 of 1928-9, *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 59.

3. 526 of 1928-9, *op. cit*

Gopīśvararāya has the same *biruda* like the one assumed by Paṭṭodeya, and in addition that of *Arirāya Basava S'ankara*, which we may note was used by the Ālupa ruler himself. These considerations make it certain that Gopīśvararāya belonged to the royal family in the indirect line, and that he was not an independent ruler.

The *birudas Basava S'ankara* together with *S'rīmat Pāṇḍya Cakravartin* and *Rāya Gajāṅkuṣa* which were borne by the Ālupa rulers were, we may incidentally observe, also used by one of the most prominent of the later Hoysala rulers-Vīra Ballāla III.

Soyideva Ālupendradeva was succeeded by Vīra Kuḷaśekharadeva. Two stone inscriptions of this ruler have been discovered. The first is a damaged record found at Niruvāra in the Uḍipi tāluka. It is dated Śaka 1(26)7 Tāraṇa (Vrścika), 27, Thursday which corresponds to A.D. 1345, November the 24th Thursday. The inscription mentions a gift to the temple of Durgā Bhagavatī of the same locality.¹

The other inscription is written in the Grantha script. It was found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Kōta in the Uḍipi tāluka, and it contains the incomplete detail that Jupiter was in Kumbha. The date evidently stands for A.D. 1345. The inscription records an endowment to the same temple of Mahālingeśvara at

1. 496 of 1928-9, *Ep Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 58. The cyclic year Tāraṇa is probably here meant for Śaka 1266 *expired* with which it agrees. For the cyclic year for Śaka 1267 was Pārthiva Swamikannu, *Ind Ephem*, IV, pp. 290-293. B. A. S.

Kōta in the Uḍipi tāluka.¹ If we assume that Soyideva Ālupendradeva's last year was A.D. 1335, then, it may be taken that Vīra Kulaśekharadeva's reign lasted from that date till A.D. 1345-6.

Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva succeeded Vīra Kulaśekharadeva in A.D. 1346. Only two inscriptions directly bearing on the reign of this ruler have been found, while two others may be assigned to him on historical grounds. That Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva's earliest year was A.D. 1346 seems certain both from the inscriptions found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Brahmāvuru in the Uḍipi tāluka as well as from the supplementary grant recorded on a stone in the Śringeri *matha*. The former is a damaged epigraph dated Śaka 1 (26)9 Vyaya, Mārgaśīrṣa, Śu 1 (1), Vaḍḍavāra which agrees with A.D. 1346 November the 25th Saturday. The inscription seems to record a gift of land.²

The Śringeri *matha* inscription is concerned mainly with the endowments made to it by the five famous brothers—Harihara, Bukka, Mārapa, Muddapa, and Kampana, the founders of the Vijayanagara Empire, in the year A.D. 1346. A supplementary grant to the servants of Bhārata Tirtha Śrīpāda of that pontificate is also made in the same record and is dated in the same year. It is from this that we gather that the ruler who made the supplementary grant was no other than Vīra Pāṇḍya Deva. For it gives him the *birudas*

1. 506 of 1928-9.

2. 484 of 1928-9, *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 59.

Pāṇḍya Cakravartin, Arirāya Basava S'ankara, A Goad to the Elephants the hostile kings. These *birudas* were worn by the predecessors of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva, and were, therefore, naturally assumed by him. We assume that Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva went to Śrīṅgeri along with his queen whose name is given as Kikkāyitāyi, which is evidently an error for Cikkāyitāyi, (i. e., Kṛṣṇāyitāyi), in the same inscription.¹

Two other inscriptions that may be assigned to the same ruler are the completely defaced stone inscription found at the entrance to the central shrine of the Pāṇḍyeśvara temple at Mangalore, and the illegible stone epigraph found at the entrance to the Cakrapāṇi temple at Attāvāra also in the same town. The former, however, contains the date one figure of which is damaged Śaka 128 (?), Mīna-māsa 14th Ā. The Government Epigraphist (Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar) has substituted 4 for the missing figure. But this (Śaka 1284) does not work out correctly, since the cyclic year for Śaka 1284 was Śubhakṛt. The date, then, according to the calculation of the Madras Government Epigraphist, would be A.D. 1362, March 9th Wednesday. The week day and the cyclic year, according to this calculation, do not agree. Hence we assume that the missing figure in the date of the record may

1. Mahāmahōpādhyaya R. Narasimhacharya was, however, unable to identify this ruler. The inscription in full is given in the famous Śrīṅgeri *matha* epigraph, Sg 1 of E. C VI.; *Mys. Arch-Rept. for 1916*, p. 57.

have been 2 in which case the date would be Śaka 1282, Śārvari Mīna-māsa 14th Ā (di). This agrees very well with A.D. 1360, March, Sunday the 8th.¹

The Cakrapāṇi temple stone inscription is likewise illegible, and the date also contains one figure that is damaged. The Government Epigraphist reads Śaka 128 (9) Parābhava, Meṣa-māsa, 10, Guru. But the cyclic year Parābhava corresponds to Śaka 1288 and not to Śaka 1289 the cyclic year of which was Plavaṅga. If we accept the date as Śaka 128 (8), then, it may stand for A.D. 1366, April, Saturday the 4th. The week day however still does not correspond.²

The inscription records that for the offerings of the god Āñjaneya of the Cakrapāṇi temple, the following stone inscription was written (*bara [e] da śulāśāsanada kramav-ent-endare*)—Whereas in former times Kulaśekhara-deva, (*munna ādi-kāladalu Kulaśekhara-de...*), and then it breaks off. If we allot twenty years to Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva, we reach A.D. 1366 which may have been the last year of that ruler. Kulaśekhara-deva mentioned in this record was perhaps Kulaśekhara-deva Ālupendra-deva I, the predecessor of Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin. We infer this from the words *ādi Kulas'ekharadeva* in the record. This consideration and the fact that the record follows closely the Pāṇḍyeśvara inscription, and

1 20 of 1901, S. I. I. VII., No., 180, p. 77, Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV, pp 322, 326.

2. 18 of 1901 ; S. I. I. VII., No. 18, p. 75.; Swamikannu, *ibid* pp. 334, 336.

that it was also found in the same town of Mangalore, enable us to assign the Cakrapāni temple record to the reign of Vira Pāṇḍyadeva.

If the above is accepted, then the earliest date for Vira Pāṇḍyadeva's successor Kulaśekharadeva Ālupendradeva III may have been A.D. 1366. With this ruler a radical change seems to have come in the faith professed by the Ālupas. The inscription in question was found in the Ammanavarū *basti* in Mūḍubidre. It opens in the usual Jaina manner, calls the Ālupa ruler a disciple of a well known Jaina priest, and describes him as making endowments to a Jaina *basti*. Unlike the Ālupa inscriptions hitherto examined, the Ammanavarū *basti* epigraph begins with the accredited Jaina invocation, thus:—*S'rimat-parama-gambhīra - svādvāda - amogha lāncchanam jiyāt trailokya Nāthasya śāsanam Jina-śāsanam* (Having the honourable supreme profound *syād-vāda* as a fruit-bearing token, may it prevail, the doctrine of the Lord of three worlds, the Jaina doctrine). Then it proceeds to give the following *birudas* to the ruler, whom it calls Pāṇḍya Cakravartin, thus: *svasti samastabhuvana-vikhyāta Soma-kula-tilaka Pāṇḍya Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhattachāraka Satya-ratnākara S'aranāgata Vajrapañjara śrīmat Cārukīrti-divya-śrī-pāda-padma ārādhaka parabaḷa-sādhakarum appa śrīmat Pāṇḍya Cakravartin*.

Of these *birudas* seven had already been assumed by the Ālupas: *Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta*, *Rāja-parameśvara*, *Paramabhattachāraka*, *S'aranāgata-vajrapañjara*, *Soma-kula-tilaka*, *Pāṇḍya-mahārājādhirāja*, and *Parameśvara*. Of

the others *śrīmat-Cārukīrti divya-śrī-pāda-padma-ārādhaka*, and *para-bala-sādhakarum* are similar to those of the many *birudas* assumed by a Patti Pombuccha ruler of the Śāntara family, *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Lokanātharasa* (A.D. 1334), whose position in Tuḷuva history during this period will be discussed in a later connection. The *birudas* of Lokanātharasa which are strikingly similar to those borne by Kulaśekhara *Ālupendradeva* III, are the following: *Samasta-bhuvanāśraya śrīmat-Cārukīrti-Pandita-devara dib(v)ya-śrī-pāda-padma ārādhaka* and *para-bala-jagad-dala*.¹

The statement that Pāṇḍya-Cakravartin *eka-(ccha-trudim)-rājyam geyyutta-irdd* followed immediately by *Rāja-gaja-bala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva* suggests that it refers only to that Ālupa ruler. This is further proved in a later passage which says that Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva, while seated on the jewelled throne in the *basti* of Bidire (i.e., Mūdubidre) (*Kulaśekhara Ālupendru-devaru Bidireya(ba)sadilyalu-ratna-simhāsana-ārudha... ka-sthitar-āgi*), made some specified although illegible endowments for the god Pārśvanātha of Bidire. The golden throne mentioned in the earlier records is now spoken of as a jewelled throne.

The record, inspite of its being defaced in many places, contains the following :—*hattu 157394 ne sandu dinam S'aka-varusa 1306 Kaliyuga 4484 sanda ... masa (Mesa) ma- ..., S (S') uddha Caturdasiya dina*. Kali 4484 corresponds to Śaka 1305, while Kali 4485, to Śaka 1306,

1. *Infra*. Ch. III, Sec. 8

the cyclic year of which was Raktākṣa. The date intended was probably A.D. 1384 April Friday the 8th.¹

Kulaśekhara-deva Ālupendra-deva III's claims for independence as expressed in the *birudas samasta bhuvana-vikhyāta, Pāndya-mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara* cannot be justified in view of the activities not only of the Śāntaras, who had already gained ground within the limits of the Ālupa kingdom, but also of those of another Karnāṭaka power which had successfully cast both over the Śāntaras as well as the Ālupas its sway since A.D. 1346. We refer here to the Vijayanagara rulers who had placed their viceroy over Bārakūru in Śaka 1307 (A. D. 1385-6.)²

There is one name among the Ālupa rulers which may be mentioned here. It is that of Ālupa Kāmadevarasa about whom a much damaged and undated record was found in the Durgā Paramēśvarī temple at Iruvaila in the Kārkala tāluka. This is the only inscription concerning him. It seems to register a gift of land.³ Nothing more can be determined about this figure in Ālupa history.

Kulaśekhara-deva Ālupendra-deva III was succeeded by (his son and successor) Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva III. Only one inscription of this ruler has been discovered in the Gauri temple at Prāntya in Mūḍubidre. This record begins in the usual Ālupa style with a *svasti*,

1. 53A of 1901, S. I I VII. No. 225, p. 113, Swamikannu Ind Ephem. IV, pp 368, 370.

2. Infra Chapter III.

3. 477 of 1928-1929.

and then proceeds to give most of the *birudas* assumed by Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva III's predecessor Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva III but not those referring to the Jaina teacher Cārukīrti Paṇḍita. On the other hand, it clearly points to the strong hold which the earlier Śaivite religion still had on the Ālupa royal house which was now gradually sinking into insignificance. The following *birudas* are given to Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva :—*Samasta bhuvana-vikhyāta, Soma-kula-tīlaka, Pāṇḍya-mahārājādhirāja, Parames'vara, Paramabhattāraka, Satya-raṭnākara, S'aranā-gata vajra-pañjara, S'ri-Mañjunātha-devara śrī-pāda-padma-āradhakar-appa, Para-bala-sādhakarum-appa, śrīmat Pāṇḍya Cakravartī Rā (ya-Gajāṅkus'a) s'ri-Vīra Pāṇḍya-dēvaru.*

The substitution of the *biruda śrī-Mañjunātha-devara śrīpāda-padma-āradhakar* (Worshipper at the lotus feet of god Mañjunātha) for the *biruda śrīmat-Cārukīrti-divya-śrī-pāda-padma-āradhakar* assumed by Kulaśekhara-deva Ālupendradeva III, is to be borne in mind in our estimate of the diffusion of different religious creeds in Tuḷuvanāḍu.

Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva III is said to be ruling the kingdom under the shadow of one umbrella (*eka-cchatradim rājyam-geyyuttam irdda*). This, as we have already seen, was used to denote the independent status of Kulaśekhara-deva Ālupendradeva III.

The similarity of all the *birudas* except those pertaining to the faith of the rulers, and the phrase used to express their political position, as given in the above records of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva III and Kulaśekhara-

deva III, clearly prove that they belonged to the same family. This is further corroborated by the distinctive Ālupa *biruda Rāya-Gajāṅkuśa* borne by Vira Pāṇḍyadeva III. These considerations are enough to invalidate the statement made by the Government Epigraphist (Mr. G. Venkoba Rao) that Vira Pāṇḍyadeva III was not an Ālupa ruler.¹

The record is dated 1577 (311) *andina..S'aka-varusam* 1318 *san (du) Va (r) ttamāna...Iśvara-samvtsarada-simha māsa Āditya-vūradandu*. This corresponds to Śaka 1319, the cyclic year of which was Iśvara, in which case the date intended was perhaps A.D. 1397 August the 5th Sunday.²

The inscription records a grant to Durgā Devī (of the Gauri temple) of Mūḍubidre.

The ruler who succeeded Vira Pāṇḍyadeva III was Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva IV. Only two epigraphs of this ruler have been found. One was discovered in the Gauri temple at Mūḍubidre. It begins in the old Ālupa manner with *svasti śrī*, and merely relates that when Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva was ruling the kingdom under the shadow of his sole

1. *Ep. Rept for 1926*, pp. 108-9. Mr. Venkoba Rao seems to have confounded Vira Pāṇḍya of the Ālupa family with a later Vira Pāṇḍya of the Bhairarasa family of Kārkala. B. A. S.

2. 50 of 1901; S. I. I. VII No. 221, p. 111, Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV. p. 397. August 5th is taken here on the assumption that it is the first Ādivāra in Simha. But this is a mere supposition. R. A. S.

umbrella (*Pāṇḍya-cakravartin Kulase (s'e) kharālpendraderavar eka-cchatra [dim] rājyam-geyyutt-ire*)

The date which follows is wrongly given thus :—
(*S'aka-nrpa*) *kālātita-s(am)vatsarada 1363 neya Raktāksi-sam* ...and then the effaced epigraph proceeds to record a grant of land for the *naivedya* of the goddess Durgādevī [of Mūdubidre]. The cyclic year Raktāksi corresponds to Śaka 1366 (A.D.1444-5) and not to Śaka 1363, the cyclic year of which was Durmatī.¹

Another inscription has to be referred to this ruler. It is a stone epigraph found in the grounds of the Kanara High School, Mangalore, and is dated only in the cyclic year *Raktāksi Mesa-mūsa 12 neya Ādivaradandu*. The inscription contains a great many details concerning temple management which will be discussed in connection with the features of administration under the Ālupas. Here we may note that it mentions an Ālupa ruler in the following terms *Mangalāpurada hiriya aramaneya Bhuvanāśrayada mogasāleyalu samasta-pradhānarum yeradu-kōlu-baḷiyam verasu(m)oddolagam-kottirdda-āprastā-vanadalu Aḷiya Vira Banki Devarasargge Mugurunāḍina-rājyam biḍuvallī Māvu Kulasekhara-devarsarum Aḷiya Banki Dēvarasarum Bankeśvara Devarige śilā-śāsanam geydu kotta kramavent-endade...*² In the older (or senior) palace at Mangalore (*Mangalāpurada hiriya-aramaneya*), in the front room of the public audience hall of which

1. 53 of 1901, S. I. I VII. No. 224, pp. 112-3, 511, Swamikannu, Ind. Ephe. V pp. 84, 90.

2. 23 B of 1901; S. I. I VII. No. 185, pp. 81-2.

by name the " Refuge of the World " (*bhuvanāśrayada moḡa-sāleyalu*), with all the ministers and the *eradu-kōṭu-bali* officials, on the occasion of the public audience, the kingdom of Mugurunādu was assigned to Aliya [nephew] Baṅkidevarasa by his uncle [*māva*] Kulaśekhara dēvarasa. On this the king Kulaśekhara together with Aliya Baṅkideva made an endowment to the god Bankeśvara.

We have to find out the age of epigraph and the identity of the ruler Kulaśekara and of his nephew Bankideva. The cyclic year Raktāksi agrees with any one of the following Śaka years—1126, 1186, 1246, 1306, and 1366. The epigraph in question cannot be dated to Śaka 1126 for the following reasons:—In Śaka 1126 (A.D. 1204-5) the king is given many titles among which, as we have seen already, *Pāṇḍya-Cakravartin Rāya(ra) Bhujabala*¹ are important. His nāme is spelt Vīra Kolaśekhara Ālvendradeva. In none of the three inscriptions of this Ālupa king are his relatives mentioned. These titles, the more corrupt form of the name, and the absence of the name of any of his relatives suggest that he could not have been the Kulaśekhara mentioned in the stone inscription found in Mangalore.

The inscription cannot be dated to Śaka 1186. We know from the Ālupa records that Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendra I was ruling from A. D. 1254 till A. D. 1267.

1. 51 of 1901, op. cit.

It cannot be that the Kulāsekharadeva of the Mangalore inscription ruled at the same time.

The epigraph cannot be placed in Śaka 1246 (A.D. 1324) for the same reason. Soyideva Ālupendradeva was ruling from A.D. 1315 till A.D. 1357. Moreover, it was only in the reign of his predecessor Baṅkideva Ālupendra II in A.D. 1302 that the palace at Maṅgaḷūru was called merely *Srimatu rājadhāni Maṅgaḷapurada* (a) *ramaneyya moga-sāle*,¹ and the palace itself was styled simply *Bhuvanāśraya*.² This proves that in the days of Baṅkideva Ālupendradeva II, and, we may presume, in those of his successor Soyideva as well, the palace at Mangalore was not called *hīriya aramane*, as it is styled in the Mangalore record. We have, therefore, to date the Kanara High School inscription to a later age in order to understand the term *hīriya aramane* applied to it.

Now, there remain two Śaka years to which the Kanara High School inscription can be assigned:—Śaka 1306 and Śaka 1366. In A.D. 1384 Kulāsekkhara Ālupendra deva III and in A.D. 1444 Kulāsekkhara Ālupendradeva IV reigned. It is difficult to determine to which of these two names the Kulāsekkhara of the Kanara High School inscription has to be referred. We may venture to suggest, however, the following:—That the record in question cannot be referred to the reign of Kulāsekharadeva III for the following reasons:— This ruler is given a string of *birudas* which are not found in the

1 17 of 1901, *op. cit.*

2 338 of 1930-31. See *infra* *The Capitals*.

Kanara High School inscription. He is represented as ruling from his jewelled throne at Mūḍubidre, and as a patron of jainism, who gave a grant to the god Pārśva-nātha of that city.¹ These considerations are inapplicable to the Kulaśekhara of the Kanara High School inscription. For, as we shall explain while describing the features of administration under the Ālupas, the Kulaśekhara of the Kanara High School record was a patron of Brahmanism, as the detailed regulations pertaining the temple of the god Bankesvara entered in that inscription, and the fact that the grant was made by the king Kulaśekhara himself together with his Āliya Baṅkideva clearly prove.

There remains Śaka 1366 when there reigned Kulaśekhara Ālupendra IV. One inscription of this ruler dated wrongly in Śaka 1363 (*i. e.*, 1366) but in the cyclic year Raktākṣi has already been noticed by us. This inscription registers a grant to the goddess Durgā. The ruler is styled Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Kulaśekhara Ālupendra.² We believe that the Kanara High School record dated only in the cyclic year Raktākṣi is to be assigned to Śaka 1366, and that the Māva (uncle) Kulaśekhara, the patron of Brahmins, of that record is to be identified with Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Kulaśekhara.

The date of this inscription (*S'aka 1366 Raktākṣi Mesa māsa 12 neya Ādivara*) would, then, correspond to

1. 53 A 1901, *op. cit.*

2. 53 of 1901, *op. cit.*

A.D. 1444 April the 7th Tuesday, the week day not corresponding.¹

8. SOME CHIEFTAINS

Kulaśekharadeva Ālupendradeva IV was the last of the prominent Ālupas, so far as the epigraphs concerning them are concerned. With him the flickering vestiges of Ālupa power may be said to have vanished. The name Ālupa was too great, however, to be entirely annihilated. And so we find it lingering on till the sixteenth century and after. Three names of chieftains exercising some sort of political authority are met with in inscriptions of the later ages. A stone inscription found in the Hacevetṭu village in the Kār-kala tāluka, records a grant of land to the temple of Mahādeva at Ittala (Vitthala ?) by Kāntana Māra Āluva *alias* Komṇa for offerings and perpetual lamps and for feeding Brahmans. This was in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Virūpākṣa Rāya (A.D. 1384–A.D. 1404). The inscription is dated only in the cyclic year Tārana, Makara 6, Thursday, when there was a solar eclipse. The cyclic year Tārana agrees with Śaka 1326 and the date works out correctly to January 1st A.D. 1405, when there was a solar eclipse.²

We have seen above that Vira Pāṇḍyadeva III ruled from A.D. 1396 till A.D. 1436. It cannot be that Kāntana Māra Āluva *alias* Komṇa exercised any regal authority during these years. Hence it has to be supposed that

1. Swamikannu, *Ind Ephem.* V, p. 90.

2. 510 of 1928-9, *Ep. Rept for 1928-9*, p. 55.

he was a member of the royal family entrusted with the charge of administering unspecified districts. Whatever that may be, the Komna branch has given two more chieftains to Tuluva.

One of them was Devannarasa *alias* Komna who is mentioned in two stone inscriptions. In the earlier of these records, it is related that his sister Śanakarā-devi made a gift of the produce of some of her lands to the (Anantanātha ?) *basti* at Kiyaruvara for offerings and worship. The stone inscription which gives us these details was found in the Anantanātha *basti* at Nellikāru in the Kārkala tāluka. It is dated Śaka 1447 Tāraṇa, Dhanu 15, Sunday. This corresponds but for the week day which happens to be Tuesday the 13th and not Sunday, to A.D. 1524, December.¹ No overlord is mentioned in this record.

The other record dealing with Dēvaṇṇarasa *alias* Komna was found in Śīrtāḍi in the Kārkala tāluka. This inscription, however, mentions Cimnarāja Oḍeyar, who was evidently the Vijayanagar viceroy. It records the construction of a new *basti* and an endowment of seventy-six *varāhas* by Dēvaṇṇarasa *alias* Komna. With this amount some land was purchased at Arjjināpura and left in charge of Kōtyanna Ālva for the conduct of worship. The epigraph is dated Śaka 1453

1. 522 of 1928-9 ; Swamikannu, *Ind Ephem.* V. p. 251, 253. The cyclic year Tāraṇa agrees with Śaka 1446, while Pārthiva, with Śaka 1447. In the latter instance, the date works out to December the 13th Wednesday A.D. 1525. Swamikannu, *ibid*, p. 253. B. A. S.

Vikrti, Meṣa 15 Sunday which agrees with A.D. 1530 April the 10th Sunday which however was Meṣa 14.¹ The two records make it clear that Devannarasa *alias* Komṇa was entrusted with some governmental authority from A.D. 1524 till A.D. 1530.

The third name in the Komṇa branch is that furnished by the inscription written in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa found in the Anantnātha *basti* at Nellikāru in the same tāluka. This undated inscription mentions no king but merely records that the hall (*mandira*) of the *caitya* (i. e., the Jaina *basti* evidently) was caused to be built by the famous Mañjana Komṇa Bhūpa.²

9. UNIDENTIFIED ĀLUPA KINGS

A few names in the Ālupa genealogy cannot be fixed with the meagre information that is before us. One of the earlier inscriptions is the defaced record discovered

1. 524 of 1928-9, *Ep. Rept for 1928-9*, p. 60 It cannot be determined whether the name Cinnarāja Odeyar mentioned in the above record was identical with Cinnarāja Odeyar, who was the officer under 'Am-ul-Mulk Gīlāni, and who punished the insubordinate *thānadar* Dilāwar Khān, as mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1562. Saletore, *S. P. Life.*, I, pp. 382-383.

2. 520 of 1928-9. The name Ālupa still survives among the Bunts, and in one or two families of Roman Catholics chiefly of Udayāvara and Udipi. In a later chapter we shall see how in one of the most famous Tuḷu *Pāḍadānas*, called Koṭi and Cennaya, a Sāma Ālva will figure. In a stone inscription dated Śaka 1437 *sanda* *aartamāna*, Āluva Pāndi Śeṭṭi, Āluva Kōṭi Śeṭṭi, and Āluva Nāra (ya) na Śeṭṭi (42 of 1901; *S. I. I.* VII, No. 212, p. 109) are mentioned. The Government Epigraphist (Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar) correctly states that the cyclic year referred to is Dhātrī (i. e., A.D. 1516). Swamikannu, *Ind Ephem* V, p. 234.

in the Ananteśvara temple at Udipi. It is an undated record which opens with *śri svasti* unlike the majority of the Ālupa inscriptions we have hitherto examined. It then proceeds to narrate the following :—*nareṇummappa porigam nātham Kavi (mu ? Vima ?) lādityan-ādanda (huvī) tap (p) idakke saṣṭi om (māna) kere pa . . nd-udūro (m).*¹ From this indistinct and incomplete inscription all that we can gather are the names Kavi Vimalāditya and (his shield-bearer ?) Nārenu (Nārāyaṇa ?). Since the genealogy from Māramma Ālvarasa till Citravāhana II, as we have pointed out in the previous pages, is unbroken, Kavi Vimalāditya is to be placed either before Māramma Ālvarasa or after Citravāhana II. If he were the predecessor of Māramma Ālvarasa, we would have had some clue to this in the inscription of the latter. The absence of the slightest hint in regard to this suggests that Kavi Vimalāditya may have reigned in the troublesome times that followed the reign of Citravāhana II.

An undated stone inscription found in Kariyaṅgaḷa near Poḷali Ammuṇṇe in the Mangalore tāluka, mentions Ālupa Kumāra Pāṇḍya Jayasingarasa, and a gift made by him to the goddess Hoḷala Bhaṭṭārakī. On the following considerations this inscription may be placed at the end of the eighth century A.D. Firstly, the fact that the inscription calls the goddess Hoḷala Bhaṭṭārakī and not Durgā Parameśvarī, as the people

1. 118 of 1901, S. I. I. VII, No. 307, pp. 158-59.

2. 380 of 1927-8.

now call her, proves that the inscription belongs to that early period when the people had retained the original Buddhist name of the goddess. This may have been in about the eighth century A.D. Secondly, the inscription was found in Kariyaṅgala which has yielded two other epigraphs—that relating to Ranaśāgara whom we have placed in the first quarter of the eighth century A. D., and that concerning Baṅkideva Ālupendradeva II dated A.D. 1304. The inscription under review could not have belonged to the latter Ālupa ruler for two reasons: it mentions clearly the goddess Holala Bhaṭṭāraki, while the later inscription of the times of Baṅkideva Alupendradeva II calls the same deity Holaladeva¹ Such confusion could never have taken place in one and the same age. Moreover, if the record in question had belonged to the reign of Baṅkideva Ālupendradev II, it would have contained some reference to that ruler. The absence of any reference to that ruler suggests that the two records do not belong to the same reign. We may, therefore, place Ālupa Kumāra Pāṇḍya Jayasiṅgarasa in the ninth or tenth century A.D., when the Ālupas had dynastic connection with the Śāntaras from whom they borrowed the name Pāṇḍya.

Since the epithet *Kumāra* appears in the inscription it may not be far wrong to assume that Kumāra Pāṇḍya Jayasiṅgarasa belonged to the Ālupa family. This is confirmed by the first name Ālupa which the prince bore as well as by the fact that he is said to have be-

longed to the Lunar race (*Soma-kula*) and "far famed in the World". It has been made clear that Prthvī-sagara, whom we have assigned to the middle of the eighth century A.D., was the earliest Ālupa ruler to claim descent from the Lunar race. We have elsewhere shown that the Buddhist goddess Tārā known popularly by her Hinduized appellation of Durgā, was most popular in the eighth century A.D.¹ This explains why the goddess in the inscription is called Hoḷala Bhaṭṭāraki and not Durgā Parameśvarī, as we have it in the later records of the same place.

Under these circumstances the assertions of the Madras Government Epigraphist (Mr. G. V. Srinivasa Rao) that Ālupa Kumāra Pāṇḍya Jayasingarasa was a Cālukya feudatory, and that he belonged to the Ucchangi Pāṇḍya line,² are to be rejected. The fact that in the Western Cālukya genealogy the name Jayasinga appears, and that the name Pāṇḍya was common to the Ālupas and to the Ucchangi rulers, are no arguments to institute a relationship between the Ālupa rulers, who were of the *Soma-kula* and the Nolambavāḍi Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas, who claimed decent from the Pallavas.³

1. Saletore, *Wild Tribes*, pp. 25-28.

2. *Ep. Rept for 1921-8*, pp. 59-60.

3. See Rice, *Myr. & Coorg*. pp. 55, 59, 61, 63.

10. FEATURES OF ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE ĀLUPAS

The epigraphs which we have examined not only give us a genealogical account of the Ālupa rulers but also some interesting details concerning the manner in which they conducted their administration. These records deserve an independent study, since it is only with their aid that we shall be able to judge the veracity of purely traditional narratives relating to other phases of the life of the people not revealed in the stone epigraphs. The partial picture which is thus got from the stone inscriptions will have to be read in conjunction with the more elaborate narratives which we have gathered exclusively from folklore and which we have deferred for a later treatment in this treatise. Turning to the stone records we find that they contain statements which may be grouped under the following heads.—the king and his officials, capitals, municipal corporations, rural administration, army, taxation, and social solidarity.

(A) THE KING AND HIS OFFICIALS

What precisely was the conception of royalty in the minds of the people in the early days of Ālupa history cannot be made out from the epigraphical records. The earliest Ālupa rulers have, as we have seen, merely *śrīmat* prefixed to their names, thus denoting that they were of indigenous, though not necessarily of Tuḷuva, extraction; and that they did not attempt to give a

classical colouring to their descent. This *biruda* of *śrīmat* is coupled with others,...(*d*)*aṇḍa-vibhūta-vistīrṇa* *pitāmaha-avalokana*, *samvārddhita-kula-abhimāna* (one who had spread his fame by the might of his arms, one who was looked upon with affection by his grand-father, and one who had increased the fame of his family), in the case of Śrīmat Ālvarsar, who has been provisionally assigned to the beginning of the seventh century A. D. The next step in the examination of the *birudas* is reached when we come to reign of Chitravāhana I. It is interesting to observe that in the two records of his overlord the Western Cālukya monarch Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, Citravāhana is called *śrīmat mahārāja*.

Not till we come to the times of Śvetavāhana, whom we have ventured to place in the first half of the ninth century A. D., do we get a hint as regards the popular conception of government. Pāndyavillarasas's son Dēvu, who fought on behalf of Śvetavāhana, is described to have been "beloved by the good and shunned by the wicked" (*sādhu priyan asādu-varjitan*).¹ This expression is strikingly similar to the one which denoted a special function of sovereignty in the later ages. A ruler was expected to govern the country (like a father) putting down the wicked and upholding the good (*dusta nighraha śista prati-pālanadim*). It is this idea which is evidently included in one of the *birudas* of Śvetavāhana's successor Pṛthvīsāgara, whom we have assigned to the middle of the eighth century A.D.

1. 105 of 1901, *op. cit.*

He is called the *Terror of the Wicked* (*dusta-bhayanka-rargge iṣṭa-bhṛtyan-appa*).¹

Prthvīsāgara was indeed an ambitious ruler. The simple *birudas* of the earlier kings were exchanged by him for the more elaborate ones including that given above. They were the following:—*The illustrious Ālupendra* (*S'rimat Ālupendra*) *who had sprung from the Moon* (*Soma-vamśa-udbhava*), *the Ornament of his family* (*kula-tīlakam*), *Udayāditya*, *Uttama Pāṇḍya*, and *the illustrious Āluvarasa*.²

With the inclusion of the *birudas* *Parameśvara* and *Adhirājārāja* by his successor Vijayāditya Māramma in the last quarter of the eighth century A. D., the Ālupa rulers may be said to have given the fullest expression to their ambitious designs.

That the earlier conception of sovereignty still continued in the popular mind in the middle of the tenth century A. D., is proved by two of the many *birudas* given to Kundavarmarasa II:—*uddāma bāhu-vīryena raksitāh-ksitimaṇḍalāh* (One who, endowed with great physical strength, protected the corners of the world shining in the moonlight of pure fame) and *dattām bhuvam nirākṛtya balāt-viśvāsa ghātinam* (One who by his valour recovered his kingdom after defeating traitorous wicked enemy (to whom he had given land [formerly])). A singular *biruda* of this ruler is that relating to the abandonment (or causing to abandon) the evil of drinking liquor - *surā-pāna krito-de(do)soyena rājñā-nirā-*

1. 101 of 1901, *op. cit.*

2. 102 of 1901, *op. cit.*

krtah. It must be confessed that information is not forthcoming to show to what extent the evil said to have been removed by the ruler was rampant in the Ālupa kingdom. Nevertheless the significance of the *biruda* seems to be that the people gave to sovereignty an attribute in addition to the one mentioned above, viz., that of associating royalty with a moral obligation which is not generally met with in the Karnāṭaka records¹.

From Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra (A.D. 1113-A.D. 1155) onwards the Ālupa rulers prefixed imperial titles to their names. The *birudas* of this prominent ruler were, as we have already noted, *samasta-bhuvanāśraya*, *śrī-prthvivallabha*, *mahārājādhirāja*, *parameśvara*, and *paramabhattachāraka*. With him comes into prominence a phrase which had already received considerable significance in contemporary Karnāṭaka history, viz., that which described monarchs as ruling in the enjoyment of peace and pleasant (or profitable) conversations (*sukha-sankathā-vinodadim rājyam-geyuttam-ire*), especially, it would appear, stories relating to benefactions for charity or religious merit (*dharma*)².

1. Even Kauṭilya seems to promulgate that a king should prohibit drinking (and gambling) only in a military camp. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. X, 364, p. 421 (Sastry's ed. 1923).

2. The *birudas samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta*, *Pāṇḍya-rājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhattachāraka*, etc., given to Udayāditya Pāṇḍya Paṭṭiṅgaḍeva, the predecessor of Kavi Ālupendra I, are met with only in the inscription of Kulāśekhara Ālupendradeva I in the thirteenth century A.D., and not in the reign of Paṭṭiṅgaḍeva himself. B. A. S.

3. Cf. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, pp. 167-168.

Thus was added a third constituent to royal authority, viz., that of conceiving a ruler as a protector of *dharma* by virtue of his having listened to the pleasant and peaceful stories of benefactions. One more example will suffice to show how this idea had come to stay in the mind of the people even in later ages. Bankideva Ālupendra II, as already seen, was ruling in A.D. 1302 a victorious and ever increasing kingdom thus:—*viṣaya-rājyam-uttara-uttara-abhivṛddhi pravṛdhamāna-ācandrārkkatārāmbaram (saluttam-ire) duṣṭa nighraha ṣiṣṭa pratipālanakar-āgi sukha-sankathā vinodadim rājyam geyyuttam-irdda*.¹

In the matter of appending the *birudas* and the phrases relating to sovereignty, the Ālupas only followed the Karnāṭaka usage which had from early times been in vogue. In one detail, however, the inscriptions hitherto discovered do not enlighten us, viz. the appointment of *yuva-rājas* or crown princes over different parts of the kingdom. Certain considerations suggest beyond doubt that, in spite of any explicit reference to a *yuva-rāja* administering the country at the dictates of the king, in any of the epigraphs, the Ālūpa kings must nevertheless have entrusted the *yuva-rājas* with some duties pertaining to government. The name of Ālupa Kumāra Jayasiṅgarasa, whose age we have discussed above, suggests that he may have been a *yuva-rāja*, although, it must be admitted, there is no evidence to prove our assertion. The fact that in A.D. 1254 Vīra Pāṇḍya Ālupendradeva I issued an order in

1. 17 of 1901, op. cit.

the presence of his Aliya (nephew) Bankideva, as we have seen above, does not invalidate the assumption that the Ālupa rulers must have been aware of the many advantages accruing from appointing *yuva-rājas* to important offices in the state.

This supposition is strengthened by the fact that that ruler himself conducted important public affairs along with his crowned queen Balla Mahādevī. We have seen that in A.D. 1262 he fixed the annual imports of the two villages of Kundāpūru and Kūdikūra in the presence of government officials. It is not surprising, therefore, that the queen, who in A.D. 1267 had participated in the conduct of public business, should have carried on the administration herself in A.D. 1277, obviously on the death of her husband Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva.¹

This does not seem to be the only example of a crowned queen administering the country in Ālupa history. From the Pañcaliṅgeśvara temple stone inscription found in Kōṭekēri near Bārakūru of the king Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra, and dated A.D. 1155, it may reasonably be surmised that his queen Pāṇḍya Mahādevī likewise took part in public affairs. For the inscription mentions that to the city corporation (*nagara samūha*) of the town Pannirpaḷḷi, which belonged to (or which was ruled over by) the Pāṇḍya Mahādevī (*ā ūran-āḷva Pāṇḍya Mahādeviyara nagara samūhakke*), a specified gift of land was made.

1. 491 of 1928-9, op. cit.

The above record is interesting from another point of view. The gift of land in question was made by dignitaries who hailed from Kāśmīra. They are thus described :—Born in the city of Pajjera which belonged to the locality (district ?) of Pravarapura near the sacred waters of Kāśmīra (*sri-Kāśmīra-[śrī] jalada śrī Pravarppurada adhiśtānada[Pajjera]purada sthānadalu hutṭida*), devotees of Śaradā-devī (*Śrī-Sā[S'ā]radādeviya*), and children of Śrīyūti Rāna and Dēgōna Rāni—the *śrī-sāvāsī* Maninoja Rāna's younger brother Śrī Sāji Rāna. The gift was made up of land in which fourteen *muras* of rice could be sowed, situated in Pannirpaḷli (the meaning of *guḍiḡallu Nālgundada* [the stone of the temple of Nālgunda ?] being not clear).

In the same inscription the term *sāvāsī* occurs in the following context concerning the above gift of land — *dhārā-pūrvvakavāgi eradu-kotta tappu bhūmiya nēḡilan hūḍida sāvāsigaḷa guṇḍikeya*...the precise meaning of which is also not clear. To what the *tappu bhūmiya nēḡilan hūḍida sāvāsigaḷa* (of the Sāvāsīs who had ploughed the wrong field) refers, is not apparent from the epigraph.¹ For our purpose we may note that the term *sāvāsī* thus occurring twice in the above inscription is significant in the sense that it points out to an official in the palace who was invested with the affairs of the royal ladies, or perhaps to one who was a Master of the Robes. A Bauddha *sāvāsī*, we may be permitted to observe,

1. 171 of 1901, op. cit.

is mentioned in A.D. 1098, and a superintendent of *sāvāsīs* in A.D. 1176.¹

A few more details are available concerning some of the highest officials in the Ālupa government. There is no evidence to prove that the Ālupas had under them the high dignitary called the great Minister for Peace and War (*mahā-sāndhi-vighrahika*), who is mentioned in contemporary Cālukya records. But all the same they were aware of such an high office, as is proved by the Sohrab plates dated A.D. 692, which we have already referred to in an earlier connection. The name of the official who wrote this inscription is given as the *Mahā-sāndhi-vighrahika* Rainapunya Vallabha. Since the gift recorded in this inscription was made at the application of the Mahārāja Citravāha I, and since it related to a village within his jurisdiction, it is evident that that high official was known to the Ālupa ruler.²

Four kind of ministers are distinctly mentioned in the Ālupa records. Of these three were probably concerned only with political duties, while the last one was to look after the religious affairs. The three ministers in charge of political affairs were the *mahā-pradhāna* or the great minister, the *sāmanta-pradhāna*

1 Rice, *Mys. & Coorg*, p. 203; E. C. VII. Sb. 170, p. 24.

2. It may be remarked here that the evidence we have here cited proves that under the Western Cālukyas the office of a *mahā-sāndhi-vighrahika* existed in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. The assertion of Rice (*Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 169) that that official is seen only in the eighth century A.D., is, therefore, to be rectified.

or the minister over the feudatories, and the *pradhāna* or minister. In the undated Beḷuvāyī stone inscription of the reign of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva I (A.D. 1113-A.D. 1155), *Mahāpradhāna* Arasa Heggade is mentioned.¹ The Gauri temple stone inscription of Kulasekhara Ālupendradeva I dated A.D. 1205-6, contains only the designation *S'rimanu* (*S'riman*) *mahāpradhāna*, the name of the official being unfortunately effaced.² The *Mahāpradhāna* Sōvaṇṇa Senabova is mentioned in the Paḍebettu stone inscription of Soyideva Ālupendradeva, dated A.D. 1324-25, already cited above.³ The suffix *senabova* attached to the name of the *mahāpradhāna* suggests that the post of a great minister was by no means confined to higher social orders, but that it was open also to the humbler sections of the people like the accountants (*senabovas*) and the like.⁴

The *sāmanta-pradhānas* are mentioned collectively (*sāmanta-pradhānaru*) in A.D. 1315 in the Somanātheśvara temple stone record of Soyideva Ālupendradeva.⁵ The *sāmanta-pradhānas* under the Ālupas were in all likelihood entrusted with the same duties which the Karnāṭaka monarchs allotted to their *sāmantādhipatis*, viz., duties concerning feudatories.⁶ The *pradhānas* or ministers are often met with in the Ālupa inscriptions.

1. 61 of 1901, op. cit.

2. 52 of 1901, op. cit.

3. 374 of 1930-31, op. cit.

4. The *senabovas* were not always recruited from the Brahmins.
B. A. S.

5. 157 of 1901, op. cit.

6. On *Sāmantādhipatis*, read, Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 170.

Pradhāna Ar (p) a Heggade is mentioned in the record from the Pañcalingeśvara temple of the times of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra dated A. D. 1155.¹ We have already seen that Vira Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I (A. D. 1254–A. D. 1267) made gifts on various occasions in the company of high state officials among whom were the *pradhānas* or ministers.

Two other officers must also have been known to the Ālupa rulers, although it cannot be asserted that they were included among the Ālupa category. These were the *mahāmandalika* and the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, both of whom rose to great prominence in later Kārṇātaka history. Certain *maṇḍalika mahāmaṇḍalikas*, described to have been prominent persons in the army of Komara (Kumāra?) (*Komara-daṇḍa mukhyar-āgidda mandalike-mahāmaṇḍalikar*), are also stated to have submitted to Bankideva Ālupendra I, in the undated Someśvara temple inscription found in Mūḍukēri in Bārakūru.² In the reign of the same ruler we saw *Srīmān Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāya Sāltiratta...* in A.D. 1058, according to the unfinished epigraph found in Udayāvara.³

Religious affairs were under the minister called *dharma-karaṇika*. We gather this from the Kigga inscription of the Mahārāja Citravāhana I assigned to about A.D. 675 which, after laying a penalty on those

1. 171 of 1901, op. cit.

2. 136 of 1901, op. cit.

3. 95 of 1901, op. cit.

who dared to enjoy the produce given as a gift to the Kilgāneśvara god, ends thus— “Taking a clean place, Senavarasa and *Dharma-karanika* will divide and give the palace office share on a smooth plastered floor (or evenly plastered over).” The *Dēveḍṭṭiyer* and the *Sāer*, whom we have already mentioned in the same connection above,¹ seem to have been entrusted with some unspecified work in connection with temple endowments under the *dharma-karanika*. From the record in question it is clear that the *dharma-karanika* shared with another dignitary the responsible work of checking the revenue produce which was given in kind. The above seems to have been a very early instance of a *dharma-karanika* having been coupled with other state officials. In the twelfth century and after the offices of *dharmā-dhyakṣas* and *rājyādhyakṣas*, especially in the Kalacuriya times, were given moral and political duties.²

The injunction in the above Kigga stone inscription assigned to about A.D. 675 that the paddy produce, cow's milk, bullock, .. of the god Kilgāneśvara excepting the attendants of the gods, “no one is (permitted) to enjoy”, and the fact of the existence of a *dharma-karanika* with the *dēveḍṭṭeyar* and the *sāer* under him, enable us to conclude that the Ālupa rulers from the earliest times took particular care of the religious institutions in their kingdom. This tradition was handed down to later Ālupa rulers who made, as we

1. *Supra* Section 3.

2. See Rice, *Mys. & Coorg*, p. 170.

have already seen, endowments to temples in the presence of great ministers and officials of the state, obviously with a view to ensure not only a proper conduct of the items mentioned in the grants, but also to indicate that the king had an abiding interest in the welfare of the religious institutions. We shall deal with this phase of the question presently.

That even in the fourteenth century the earlier tradition of the king co-operating with his officials and important citizens in such matters continued to be a feature of the Ālupa administration is proved by the Someśvara temple stone inscription dated A.D. 1315 of reign of Soyideva Ālupendradeva I. This inscription relates that when the king was seated on his golden throne, his nephew (Alīya) Bankidevarasa along with the *sāmanta-pradhānas*, the (*deśa*)-*puruṣas*, the high officials of the two divisions called *eraḍu-kōlu baḷis* and others (*eraḍu kōlu baliyum bāhattara niyōgiḡaḷu muntāgi*), made a special grant to Banki Senabova's (man?) Annadāta Heggade. The latter received specified gifts of land in Aidurū, obviously on behalf of the god Somanātha of Manigārakēri where stands the temple of the god. The inscription continues to narrate that the king gave ten *honnu* (gold) for the lights of the same god. Further it says the following.—*ā bāḷinge tēremadila a(r)ppisuva appaṇe-salva ar(a)sana mānis(s)yarū h(en)gasa(ru) biḍu dēvasva(vā)gi ā S'omanāth-devara manis(s)yarē nōḍi ā dharmava naḍasuvāru*. For the prosperous continuance of the endowment made by the

king, therefore, while men and women, in compliance with the king's orders, were to give their contributions towards the royal property applicable to (meant for) the service of the god, only the officials of the temple of the god Somanāthesvara, however, were entitled to look after the *dharma* mentioned above. The noblemen of Aidūru seem to have agreed to this, for the next sentence runs thus:—*Aidūru muntāgi oḍeyaru māḍida dharma*.¹

In the list of Government officials mention may be made of the engraver of stone epigraphs. The inscription of Śrīmat Āḷuvarsar assigned to about A.D. 600, affirms that Śrī-Kālādityan *dharegoḷāṇmam*, (Lord of the world) wrote (*baredōn*) the *śāsana*.² One of the Śambhukallu records of Vijayāditya Māramma (A.D.750-A.D. 770) was written by Ranadhāri (*Ranadhāri-likhita*).³ The only exception to the general rule of engravers writing their name in Kannaḍa is that of Śrādhara-nāthā (Śrīdhara-nātha ?) in A.D. 1327⁴ mentioned in an earlier context. The office of the engraver developed into a prominent institution under the Vijayanagara rulers.⁵

In another detail too the Ālupas were influenced by the the practice prevalent in the Karnāṭaka. And this was in regard to the provision which was made to commemorate the services of those who had fallen in a

1. 157 of 1991.

2. 96 of 1901, S. I. I, VII, No. 279, p. 143

3. 98 of 1901, E. I. IX, p. 22

4. 118 A of 1901; S. I. I. VII, No. 308, p. 159.

5. Saletore, S. P. *Life*, I, pp. 273-282.

fight or in a battle. Sometimes merely inscribed stones were erected in memory of the fallen heroes. The earliest instances of such stones are found in the times of Ranasāgara. For instance, on the death of Śūdraka Nāgamma, Ranasāgara himself made a gift in appreciation of his valour.¹ On behalf of Nalimani Nāga Dikṣira Sāgara, who had fought on behalf of Ranasāgara against Nāpaḍe, a memorial stone was erected by his younger brothers (*ātana tammukal nīrisida kalla*).²

Heroes who fell in a fight were praised in a simple but effective manner. Thus when Polokku Priyacelva, the beloved servant of Prthvisāgara, died, while storming Udayāvara, he was merely described as one endowed with beauty and one who was shunned by the wicked people. He ascended to the world of gods after having struck down the foot-soldiers (of the enemy).³ Another hero Palipare, son of Nandavilmuḍi, is likewise sparingly described as one who struck down the enemies, and ascended to the abode of heaven.⁴ Two similar memorial stones will be described in the next chapter on the foreign relations. One of them was called *kalnattu*, or *kalnāḍ*, evidently according to the usage prevalent in the Karnātaka.⁵

1. 379 of 1927-8, op. cit.

2. 108 A of 1901, op. cit.

3. 101 of 1901, op. cit.

4. 103 of 1901, op. cit.

5. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 171, E. C. XII, M. 91 of circa 920 p. 111.

(B) THE CAPITALS

From the discussion of the epigraphs given above, it must have been apparent to the reader that the capital of the Ālupas shifted from time to time. This particular part of the narrative deserves some elucidation, as it has an important bearing on the beginnings of a famous law said to have been promulgated by a legendary hero of Tuḷuva. On Ptolemy's evidence it was asserted that Udayāvāra was the capital of the Ālupas in the second century of the Christian era. The fact that civil strife was waged repeatedly round Udayāvāra in the seventh and eighth centuries proves that that city continued to be the capital till the end of the eighth century A.D.

The name of the other capital of the Ālupas—Bārakūru—does not appear till the beginning of the ninth century A. D. When we first meet with it in the reign of Dattālpendra Śrīmāra in A.D. 959, it is called Bārahakanyāpura which was not the earlier and original name of the city. For in an earlier inscription—an inscribed *vīraḡal* found in the Durgā temple at Hosahoḷalu near Bārakūru—the name appears in its more archaic and trustworthy variant *Bārakanūr*. This *vīraḡal*, for reasons to be discussed in the next chapter, may be assigned to the ninth century A.D.¹ We may observe here that in the inscription relating to Dattālpendra

1. 181 B of 1901, S I. I, VII, No. 388, p. 245. It cannot be made out whether we have to ascribe the founding of the town to a man named Bāraka *Bārakana-ūru* (the town of Bāraka). B A. S.

Śrīmāra, as will be pointed out while delineating the religious history of the times, the palace at Bārakūru is called *Bārahakanyāpurada priya-aramane*—the beloved palace of Bārahakanyāpura.¹ This shows that in the reign of Dattālpendra Śrīmāra, it must have been considered as having been recently constructed in a manner to eclipse in beauty the other palace, obviously that at Udayāvara. It is only in A.D. 1258 that the palace is called *hirīya-aramane*,² thus qualifying its antiquity when compared with the palace at Mangalūru.

On the strength of the inscription in Grantha characters on the pedestal of the Lokeśvara image at Kadri, dated A.D. 967, it may be concluded that Kunda-varma, who had proceeded to the *vihāra* of Kadrikā to consecrate that image, may have done so from the “great city of Mangalāpura” which is not, however, mentioned in the Ālupa records. We shall cite indirect epigraphical evidence which explains why Kundavarma chose Mangalāpura as his capital.³

On the other hand, the Someśvara temple inscriptions of Bankideva Ālupendradeva I seem to suggest

1. 124 of 1901, S. I. I, VII, No. 314, p. 165 *Priya* is here taken to be the *tadbhava* of *priya*. Only in this sense is it historically intelligible in the epigraph under review. In an earlier context we took *priya* in the sense of *senior-patṭada priyoraṣi* (Cf. E.C. IV. Intr. p. 21)—essentially in the sense of *beloved* and *senior*. B. A. S.

2. 490 of 1928-9. *Bāraha* is the Ardhamāgadhi form of *dvādaśa*. It is not improbable that Bārakanūr was called Bārahakanyāpura by the Jains in the tenth century A. D. B. A. S.

3. *Infra*, Ch. III, Sections 6 and 7.

that the capital was still at Bārahakanyāpura. Since all the stone epigraphs relating to the reign of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva have been found in the Uḍipi and Kundāpūru tālukas, and since none of them mentions Mangalāpura, it may be concluded that till the middle of the twelfth century A.D., the Ālupas did not revert to Mangalāpura in the south. Our surmise is proved by the Pañcaliṅgeśvara temple stone epigraph which describes that ruler as governing from his palace at Bārahakanyāpura in A.D. 1155. It continued to be the capital till A.D. 1267. King Nāgadevarasa in A.D. 1292 also ruled from the same capital. Thus from the ninth century A.D. till the end of the thirteenth century A.D., Bārahakanyāpura enjoyed the reputation of being the capital of the Ālupas, excepting for a short space of a few years when political necessity compelled Kundavarmarasa to shift his capital to Mangalāpura.

But in A. D. 1302 under Bankideva Ālupendradeva II, Mangalāpura is called *śrīmatu rājadhānīm*.¹ In the Sujēru stone inscription dated A. D. 1305, the king is said to have been seated in his palace called Bhuvanāśraya at Mangalāpura. Of this ruler, we may note incidentally, we have a singular fact mentioned in this record. It relates that in order to alleviate the sufferings of the people caused by a drought, Bankideva Ālupendradeva II prayed to the god Timireśvara for rain; and when his prayer was granted, he made a

1. 17 of 1901, op. cit.

gift of land to the temple (of the same god) as a token of his gratitude.¹

The capital reverted to Bārahakanyāpura in A. D. 1315 under Soyideva Ālupendradeva.² We lose sight of the capital till A. D. 1384 when Kulaśekhharadeva Ālupendradeva III is spoken of as seated on the jewelled throne in Bidire (*i. e.*, Mūḍubidre).³ But in the intervening period and even after Kulaśekhharadeva Ālupendradeva III's reign, Bārahakanyāpūra continued to be the capital of the Ālupa kingdom, as is evident not only from the trend of events, some of which will be narrated in the next chapter, but also from the fact that most of the Vijayanagara viceroys ruled over the Tuḷurājya from Bārakūru, although some governed it from Mangaḷāpura as well. But this subject falls outside the purview of the present thesis.

(C) MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS

Of these capitals, Udayāvara, Bārakūru, Mangaḷāpura, and Mūḍubidre, we have a few interesting statements concerning the status of the first two. They were *nagaras* or cities. But between them and Udayāvara there was some difference in regard to corporate existence. One of the earliest Śambhukallu temple stone inscriptions styles Udayāvara (which it

1. 338 of 1930-31, *op. cit.*; *Ep. Rept. for 1930-1931*, p. 49. The temple of the interesting deity Timireśvara mentioned in this record cannot be located. Probably it was in the neighbourhood of the modern the Kanara High School. But of this I am uncertain. B.A.S.

2. 157 of 1901, *op. cit.*

3. 53 A of 1901, *op. cit.*

calls Odevura) a *nagara*, but it couples all the citizens who made up the corporation and the temple priests along with it (*Odevura nakara sahitta...sakala śri-ālgal Goravar*)¹ This presupposes that so early as the sixth century A.D., Udayāvara was already enjoying the advantages of municipal life.

That Udayāvara was indeed a *nagara* is further proved by one of the Śambhukallu temple stone inscriptions of the reign of Ranasāgara Ālupendra, which mentions the *Udiyapurada nagara*-the city of Udayāvara.² The constitution of this city is suggested in another record but of the times of Prthvīsāgara. Here it is stated that there was a *nāyaka* or headman over that city. Udayapura Nāyga's (i.e , Nāyaka's) son Siṅgadatta, Kumāra Erega, Ranavikramanātha, and Sandavarada's (son) Kannaci were the recipients of certain favours to be enumerated presently.³

The Someśvara temple stone inscription of king Dattālpendra Śrīmāra contains an interesting statement which clearly indicates the socio-political solidarity that lay behind the actions of the Tulu people, The grant recorded in that inscription was to be jointly protected by the king, the representatives of district and the municipal corporation—*yī dharmmavannu ar(a)su nāḍu nakhara pālisi-baharu*.⁴

1. 99 of 1901, op. cit.

2. 100 of 1901 ; S. I I. VII., No. 284, p. 144.

3. 102 of 1901 ; E. I. IX, p. 21.

4. 124 of 1901. See *infra* Ch. V.

There were other *nāgaras* in the Ālupa kingdom. On the strength of the Greek-Kannaḍa Farce to be cited later on, another important city near Udayāvara was likewise under a *nāyaka*. This was Malapi (mod. Malpe). The Śambhukallu temple stone inscription of Māramma Ālvarasar referred to above, also speaks of Kōlala (mod. Koḷalagiri) as a *nagara*, and relates that Karasī Nāyga (Nāyaka) was ruling over that city (*Kolala nakarakke Karasī Nāygan ālḍ*).¹

The citizens of a *nagara* were called in the earlier days merely *okkalu*; and in the twelfth century A.D. they collectively formed the *nagara-samūha* or municipal corporation. There was a daily supervision of towns. Eighteen cities, including, of course, Udayāvara, were supervised daily (*padinentu pattanamumam nitta vyavast[h]e*), as is related in the Śambhukallu temple stone inscription of Ranasāgara Ālupendra. This duty was under the direct control of the king. We infer this from the statement in the same inscription to the following effect:— That this duty of supervision of the towns and of protecting the country belonged only to the ruler (*ī vyavasthe āge ūru raksippadu idān Dēvarg allade pēr ārkkōl-varoḷara...*)²

The cities had representatives who generally acted as a channel of communication between the king and the *nāgaras*. This is seen from the manner in which the rulers granted full or half of the tolls to them. In the

1. 99 of 1901, S. I. I., VII. No. 288, p. 144, op. cit.

2. 100 of 1901; S. I. I. VII, No. 284, p. 144.

earlier days the representatives were identical with the citizens or *okkala*. But collectively (in an assembly) they were also known by other names— *sāsirvarum* or the Thousand, and sometimes *mun-nūroar* or the Three Hundred. These terms denoted the composition of the assembly of the citizens. In one of the earliest stone records found in the Śambhukallu temple, which we have assigned to the seventh century A.D., we find that the capital Udayāvara had seventy *okkalu* : *Udilipura* [*Udayapurada*] *nakarada erpatt (o) kkalu*. The word *sāsirvarum* or the Thousand occurring in the same inscription, is to be referred to the general assembly of Śivaḷi (Śivaḷi.....*sāsirbbarum*).¹

The king granted tolls to the representatives of the *naḡaras*. In the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., Vijayāditya Māramma confirmed the tolls of the cities of Pombuccha and Udayāvara to Susenavadi's son Svarnagosasi, Muttavarasā's son Aḍiyapa Śetti, Maṇḍuka's son Parasebya, and Senavadi's son Nāgakumāra.² From another record of the same ruler, we learn that the representatives were called *okkalu*. This stone inscription narrates that Muttavarasa's son Saruvigosasi-ga, Kaḍal Śetti's son Madāmma, Vyāṣeṭṭi's son Dharm-manayga, Manugasattava, Sarvvandu (i. e., Sarva-bandhu) and Puleyarma obtained (i. *okkalu paḍeduvu*) the confirmation of the grant given above, to the cities of Udayapura and Ponvuḷca (i. e., Pombuccha).³

1. 96 of 1901, S. I. I. VII. No. 279, p. 143, line 11.

2. 98 of 1901, E. I. IX. pp. 23-4.

3. 97 of 1901; E. I. IX. pp. 23-4.

The *deśādhiśvaras* ("the Lords of the Country") mentioned in one of the undated inscriptions of Bankideva Ālupendradeva I found in the Someśvara temple at Mūḍukēri in Bārakuru, were evidently entrusted with some unspecified duty by the kinn in the districts. The effaced lines in connection with them suggest some sort of governmental supervision of their work :—*samasta-deśādhiśvara(ra) negaleyum...ja prabhāv amumam-āld-i-samvyavahāradol-suḷivand-vino...*¹

The term *sāsirvarum* or the Thousand occurs again in A.D. 1254 in the times of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva. The famous town of Kōṭṭa had an assembly of a Thousand. It was in the presence of this assembly and of Alīya Bankideva and others, that the ruler Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva gave a grant of land.²

In another record of the same king dated A.D. 1258 we are informed that when the king was at Bārahakanyā-pura, at his feet (*śrī-pāda-sannidhāna (dalu)*), a specified grant was made to the *mun-nūrvāru* (the Three Hundred) of Niruvāra. Among those present were certain high officials we have seen above, all the ministers, and *purohīts* or priests.³

1. 136 of 1901, S. I. I. VII No. 327, p. 178.

2. 509 of 1928-9, op. cit.

3. 490 of 1928-9. The term *mahājana* used by the Madras Government Epigraphist in connection with the Three Hundred of Niruvāra, is misleading. The *mahājanas* were no doubt of the same status as the Three Hundred. But the absence of the term *mahājana* suggests that in Tuluva the people attached a different meaning to the term *mun-nūrvāru* and *sāsirvaru*. These were assemblies of representa-

Niruvāra continued to have a representative assembly in A.D. 1277. For in that year while the queen Balla Mahādevī was ruling, all the high and low officials of the government together with the representatives of Niruvāra, made a grant of a rice field to the goddess Bhagavatī of Niruvāra.¹

Even under the Vijayanagara rulers, we may be permitted to say, Niruvāra continued to have a representative assembly. The village assembly, however, was known then by the name *jagatta-munnūru* (The Three Hundred of the World). We learn this from a stone inscription found in the Mahiśāsūramardini temple at Nilāvāra in the Uḍipi tāluka. It relates that under the Vijayanagara monarch Deva Rāya (II), Bācana Oḍeya was placed as viceroy over Bārakururājya, while Sadāśivadeva Aigal served under the latter as the *adhikāri* of Niruvāra. Provision was made by the *Adhikāri* Sadāśivadeva Aigal and the *jagatta-munnūru* for daily offerings to the local deity. The inscription is dated Śaka 1330 Sarvajit, Āsviyuja, Ba. 1 Sunday. The cyclic year for Śaka 1329 was Sarvajit,

tives, and not merely individuals such as the *mahājanas* essentially were. Here we may also note that the term *eḷpatt-okkalu* occurs in an inscription dated A.D. 1074. And Rice translates it as *seventy families*. E. C. VII. Sk. 295, p. 150. But we have already seen that *okkalu*, especially in Tuluva, meant citizens and not families. In later history *okkalu* meant tenants. This is still the meaning of the term in Tuluva. B. A. S.

1. 491 of 1928-9. But in the Govt. Epigraphist's collection given in 1927-8.

and the date works out to A. D. 1407 September the 18th Sunday.¹

Other centres which had assemblies were Brahmā-vūru, Kuḍikūra, Kundāpūru, Puttige, Mūdubidre, and Kālāvara. In A.D. 1254 the assembly of Brahmā-vūru in the Uḍipi tāluka was called merely the "Two Hundred" (*Brahma-ūradali nūr-irva*).² A stone inscription found in the Kōṭeśvara temple in the Kundāpuru tāluka, dated A.D. 1261, relates that the assembly of Kuḍikūra was called "the Three Hundred" of that place.³ Since the annual imposts were fixed at 140 and 180 *samudāya gadyāna* for Kundāpūru and Kudikūra respectively in that year by Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva, in the presence of his relatives, priests, nobles and officials,⁴ we have to assume that Kundāpūru also had an assembly similiar to the one at Kuḍikūra. We prove our assumption by a stone inscription of a later date found in the Kundeśvara temple at Kundāpūru. It records that Narasiṃha Oḍeya was governing the Bārakūrurājya under the orders of Hariappa Dannāyaka. The name of the Vijayanagara monarch was Deva Rāya. Narsimha Oḍeya renewed in the presence of the god Kundeśvara of Kundāpūru, and with the consent of the people, a grant of land which had been made by Śenabova

1. 498 of 1928-9; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem*, V, p. 16, *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 55. The cyclic year for Śaka 1330 was Sarvadhārin. Swamikannu, *ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

2. 485 of 1928-9.

3. 870 of 1927.

4. *Ep. Rept. for 1926-7*, p. 108.

Devaṇṇa to the temple but which had lapsed. The record is dated Śaka 1347 expired, Viśvāvasu, Caitra, Śu. which corresponds to A. D. 1426, March.¹

We infer that Puttige had a similar assembly of representatives from the damaged stone inscription in the Viṣṇumūrti temple assigned to A.D. 1267. Since the epigraph refers to Puttige and to the royal order made in the presence of the ministers and other officers by the king Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva from Bārahakanyāpura, we suppose that there was an assembly at Puttige as well.²

As regards the existence of a corporate assembly in Mūḍubidre, we have proof of it in a stone inscription dated in A.D. 1281, found in the Guru *basti* at Mūḍubidre. It refers to the regime of the Hoysala prince Vīra Ballāḷa during the times of his father Vīra Nara-simhadeva III. And it records a decision which the officers of the State represented by Hariyappa Danṇāyaka, brother-in-law of the *Mahāpradhāna* Devappa Dannāyaka, Mādaḍaha, son of Hosavaḍahā, *Adhikāri* Deva Āḷuva, prominent heroes, fifty foreigners (? *aivara horahinavarum*), eight heads of the commercial guilds of Mūḍubidre called *mānisa-setṭis* (*Bidireya nagaradalu entu mānisa settikāraram*), the citizens (*nakararu*), and the officials of the *eraḍu-kōlu-baḷis*, unanimously (*tammoḷ ekastar-āgi*) arrived at concerning the preservation of a *dharmaḍa-kallu* or Edict of Righteousness. Some of the

1. 365 of 1927; Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* V. p. 54.

2. 500 of 1928-9.

items of this interesting record are unfortunately obsolete. But it is evident from the epigraph that for those who partially despoiled the edict (by using it as a whetstone for their weapons ?), the fine would be fifty-one *gadyāna* at the hands of the king, while those who destroyed it completely were liable to a fine of 500 *gadyāna*.¹

Another record of the same Hoysala ruler but found in Kāntāvara in the Kārkaḷa tāluka, enables us to say definitely that heavy fines were imposed on those who violated what appeared to be the joint legislation of the subjects as well as of the State. No doubt this record is dated only in the cyclic year Bahudhānya and is defaced. Nevertheless it contains the following information :—The *adhikāris* of the Kānteśvara temple at Kāntāvara, and the citizens of the locality joined together and decreed that for the four households of the *grāma* (*grāmada-nālku grhakke*), there was to be a particular custom (? *sāvrtti*) which is unfortunately not clear in the epigraph. If any one violated this arrangement (*yī maryādeyalli-migelāge koṇḍade*), he had to

1. Some of the terms that are obsolete are following :—*aruvaru Ballālugaḷam nālvaru eḷamegaḷum asēsa hōlāradhavarum eradu-kōḷubaliya nādum nakaru ṭammolekastar-āgi māḍida śāsana kramavent-andaḍe yiri-ī dharmmada kallind-oḷage āyudhavanu are kittavange arasinge (te) ruva ga 51 ne (ra) kittavange (horage) kaḍidavange ga 500 koṇḍava ga... arasinge ātara jiva jivange tale (Balañji)garige halaru makal karyali tappidade 1 tale sāvara honnu arasinge teruvaru kastappu māḍid-ātana-allade ātana tam. ya māḍi bandu kettidalli tappi naḍasala-āgaḍu nakanadolaḷgulla (attavattanu) . ttadde Baḷaṇṇa nūṅge. 13 of 1901; S. I. I VII. No. 213, pp. 108-9.*

pay a fine of 101 *gadyāna* to the temple, an equal amount to the king, and an equal amount to the *grāma*.¹

The corporate nature of the public activities under the Ālupas is further suggested in the Somanātheśvara temple stone inscription of Soyideva Ālupendradeva, which informs us that when he was seated on the golden throne in Bārahakanyāpura in A.D. 1315, Aliya Bankidevarasa, the *sāmanta pradhānas* (or chief feudatories), (*deśa*)*purusas*, *eraḍu-kōlu-baḷiyabahattara niyōgiḷalu* (? officials of: the *eraḍu-kōlu-baḷi*), and others gave certain grants to Banki Senabova's (man?) Annadāta Heggade.²

(D) RURAL ADMINISTRATION

The most important official of the rural parts was the Headman of the District. It was during Bōygarvarma's headmanship of the district (*Bōygarvarma nātu mudī-meyul*) that king Prthvīsāgara had confirmed the gift of one half of the tolls both on water and on land to the cities of Paṭṭi and Udayapura.³ The next ruler Vijayāditya Māramma confirmed in a similar manner tolls to the same cities, during Arakella's headmanship of the district.⁴

The minute organization of the villages together with the classification of households is seen best in the traditional accounts of Tuḷuva called *Grāmapaddhati* which will be examined in a subsequent chapter. The

1. 57 A of 1901; S. I. I. VII, No. 232, p. 118.

2. 157 of 1901, S. I. I. *ibid*, No. 354, p. 212.

3. 102 of 1901, E. I. IX, pp. 20-21, *op. cit.*

4. 97 of 1901, E. I. *ibid*, pp. 23-24

epigraphs do not enlighten us on the numerous details concerning the organization of the villages.

(E) ARMY ORGANIZATION

From one of the Śambhukallu records we learn that the Ālupas were conversant with battle-arrays-*vyūha*. A hero called Kāltide, son of Vijana Nāyga, is said to have been eminent in war, a lion in battle (*kāleḡa kesari*), and to have broken in battle the (circle) array of the enemy's forces (*sāhasad ari cakra-vyūhamam oḡedōn*)¹ The infantry under the Ālupas was called *patatī* (*padātī*). This is gathered from a stone inscription found at Udayāvara of the times of Pṛthvīśāgara.²

A significant phrase occurring in some of the early Ālupa inscriptions, which has its parallel in early Gupta and Karnāṭaka records, enables us to conjecture that there were districts which were ravaged by the soldiers. Thus in the grant issued by Vinayāditya Satyāśraya to Divākaraśarmā, in A. D. 692, the village granted was Sālivoḡe in the Eḡevolal-visaya. It is expressly stated in the epigraph that it was not to be entered into by soldiers, and that it was free from molestation.³

(F) TAXATION

Some details concerning the burden of taxation may be gathered from the inscriptions. One of the

1. 94 of 1901, E. I. IX, pp. 17-18.

2. 101 of 1901, E. I. *ibid*, p. 20, op cit.

3. E. C. VIII Sb. 571, p. 92. Cf. E. C. VII, Sk. 264, p. 143, Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 98.

inscriptions of Āluva Rāja Citravāhana I dated A. D. 694 mentions the imposts.¹ We have seen above that imposts and tolls once granted by a ruler were re-confirmed either whole or half, by his successor; and that there were tolls (*sunkam*) both on water and on land. Details of the dues are to be found in one of the Śambhukallu stone records mentioned above, of the times of king Vijayāditya Māramma. It relates that that ruler confirmed the following dues to the cities of Pombuccha and Udayapura;—per double bag of grain, one and a half basket of grain; per *maḷave* (maund?) of cotton, sixteen *pala* of cotton, per load of arecanuts, three hundred nuts; and per head load of pepper, sixteen *pala* of pepper.² The customs dues were, therefore, paid in kind.

(G) COINAGE

But the rulers and people were aware of coinage. Thus in one of the inscriptions of Citravāhana I, already cited above, the gift of the village of Sālivoge was made in A.D. 692 by the Western Cālukya monarch Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, at the request of the same Āluva Mahārāja, with the pouring of water and presentation of coin.³ It may be deduced from this that coinage was known to the Āluva rulers from the later half of the seventh century A. D. onwards. But from the above account of the customs dues levied in kind, it is

1. E. C. XI, Dg. 66, pp. 62-3, op. cit.

2. 98 of 1901, E. I. IX, p. 22.

3. E. C. VIII, Sb. 571, p. 92, op. cit.

also apparent, at the same time, that exchange and barter was a feature of the commercial transactions of the times. The confirmation of the gift of one half of the tolls both on land and on water to the cities of Pombuccha and Udayāvara, in the reign of Pṛthvī-sāgara, mentioned above, relates evidently to the tolls paid in kind.

In A. D. 1139 the expression *Pāṇḍa gadyāṇa mūvattam* (Thirty Pāṇḍya *gadyāṇa*)¹ appears in one of the inscriptions of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra, thereby clearly suggesting that by the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D., Tuluva had adopted the monetary system of the Karnāṭaka, at least so far as the *gadyāṇa* is concerned. But it must be confessed that the precise meaning of the term *Pāṇḍa gadyāṇa* is not apparant. Whether it was any one of the Ālupa rulers with the second name of Pāṇḍya who introduced the *Pāṇḍa gadyāṇa*, or whether it was but a mere imitation of the *gadyāṇa* already existing in the Karnāṭaka is a point which cannot be solved for the present.

A few more details concerning the political life and society under the Ālupas, as gathered from their inscriptions, may be mentioned before we pass on to the topic of the foreign relations of the rulers. These refer to their social solidarity.

(H) SOCIAL SOLIDARITY

The precautionary clauses appended to the Sāli-voge village grant mentioned above, viz , that that village

1. 176 of 1901, S. I. I. VII, No. 381, p. 236, line 16. .

was not to be entered into by soldiers, and that it was to be free from molestation, show beyond doubt that in the seventh century A.D., the State made definite provision for the welfare of Brahman endowments. That these formed a feature of the Ālupa administration is proved by another grant also in the reign of the same Ālupa king Citravāhana I. But this time it was not a grant given under the patronage of the Western Cālukya monarch but issued under the Ālupa king's own authority. The clause in the grant to the god Kīlgāneśvara relates that "excepting the attendants of the gods, no one else (is) permitted to enjoy. Those who enjoy this, and he who causes it to be enjoyed, will remove the burden from the *Dēvedittiyer* and *Sāer*, and take the produce, to be held as consecrated to the thirty-three (*i. e.*, the gods). Those who go and enter and take, or taking enjoy, are guilty of the five great sins..."¹

The imprecations at the end of the grants show the communal sense among the people. As in other parts of the Karnāṭaka, the fear of incurring punishment in the next world brought home to the people a sense of loyalty and respect for royal orders and public endowments. The five great sins (*i. e.*, killing a Brahman, drinking liquors, stealing gold, committing adultery with the wife of the *guru* or incest with one's mother, and associating with any one guilty of these

1. *E C*, VI, Kp. 37, p. 82, *op. cit.*

crimes)¹ are mentioned in the grant of about A.D. 675, as we have already noted above.² Another grant of the same age but of Ālu-arasar Gunasāgara, father of Citravāhana I, ends thus:—"Those who ruin that, or whisper for its ruin, or think it in the mind, or advise others to ruin it, are guilty of the five great sins, and incur the punishment of the gods and the punishment of the king. Those thirty-three gods, moreover, will inflict on the destroyers of this ruling, excessive strong smells with excessive heat, and they will wither up along with those who steal silver or gold ornaments."³

The politico-religious nature of the threats held out to the violators of public grants is further shown by other records which declare that the spoliation of public measures was equal to the destruction of one of the most important religious centres of Tuluva. Thus, those who prevented the daily supervision of the eighteen towns mentioned above, were said to have incurred the great sin of having destroyed Brahmapura (Brahmāvūru ?) of Śivalli in Tuluva (*S'ivalliya Brahmb [a] puramum arida mahā-pātakanakku*).⁴

The inscriptions of king Pṛthvīsāgara add two more details— one relating to the merits of a horse-sacrifice, and the other to the five great sins of one who destroyed Vāraṇāsi and Śivalli.⁵ An inscription of his succes-

1. *Manu*, XI, 55.

2. E. C. VI. Kp. 37.

3. *Ibid*, Kp. 38, p. 82.

4. 100 of 1901, *op. cit.* See *infra* Ch. V, Section 2 for reference to Avici in this record.

5. 102 of 1901; E. I. IX, pp. 20-21.

sor Vijayāditya Māramma contains one more detail concerning the horse-sacrifice: those who confirmed the grant would receive the eight-fold fruits of a horse-sacrifice; while those who destroyed it, would incur the five great sins mentioned above in connection with Vāranāsi and Śivaḷi.¹

The reference to the eight-fold fruits of a horse-sacrifice mentioned in two different inscriptions in regard to king Vijayāditya cannot be understood for the present. We are unable to say how a horse-sacrifice came to be associated with an Ālupa ruler. Even in the middle of the twelfth century A.D., the fruits of a horse sacrifice are spoken of in one of the inscriptions of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra. In this record the names of two holy places – Rameśvaram and Kurukṣetra – are added to the two already mentioned, viz., Vāranāsi and Śivaḷi. And further, those who preserved the grant would receive the fruits of a gift of a thousand cows and of a dinner to a thousand Brahmins at the Ganges, Benares, Rameśvaram and Kurukṣetra.²

When we come to the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., we meet with imprecations and threats that suggest the social solidarity of the people under the Ālupas. An inscription of Bankideva Ālupendradeva dated A. D. 1302, ends with the usual imprecations given

1. 98 of 1901, E. I. *ibid*, p. 22.

2. 171 of 1901, S. I. I. VII, No. 376, pp. 231-2. On the question whether a feudatory can perform an *aśvamedha* sacrifice, *pro*, read Atul Sur, *Indian Culture*, I, pp. 114-115; 704-706; J. C. Ghosh, *ibid*, II, pp. 140-141; *contra* D. C. Sirkar, *ibid*, I, pp. 311-12.

above, and with the significant clauses relating to the excommunication from the *sthāna* (i. e., locality or district) of those who violated the grant, and to their being fined by the king to the extent of fifty-one *gadyāna*-ī *dharmavan āvan-obban ahudal-endaḍe Vāraṇāsiyalu sāvira kavileya konda brahmetti Narmadevalu sāvira Brāhmaṇa ghātaka māḍida brahmetti sthānadoḷag-āva-obban ahudal endaḍe sthānadindhorage arasige tappu gā(dyāna)* 51.¹

One of the records of the next ruler Soyideva Ālupendradeva, dated A. D. 1315, ends in the usual Karnāṭaka manner. After mentioning the sins of killing a thousand cows in Vāranāsi, the epigraph continues to quote the lines from the *Purāṇas*, thus:—*sva dattām para-dattām vā yo hareta vasundharāṃ sasthi varsa sahasrāni vistāyam jāyate krmih.*²

The same sense of united action prevailed in the later times, even when the suzerainty of the Ālupas had passed completely into the hands of the Vijayanagara rulers. The epigraph which gives us details concerning the corporate activities of the people in socio-religious matters is the Kanara High School record of the last prominent Ālupa ruler Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva IV, which we have elsewhere described in this treatise. It registers a grant to the god Bankeśvara by the king and his nephew Bankidevarasa. The following

1. 17 of 1901, *S. I. I.* VII, No. 177, p. 75. For similar regulations in later Karnāṭaka history, read Saletore, *S. P. Life*, II, pp. 205-209.

2. 157 of 1901; *S. I. I.* VII, No. 354, p. 212. These verses have been traced to the *Brhaspati-Smṛti*, vv. 26-9. Calcutta, San. 1296). Bata Kṛṣṇa Ghosh, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, III, p. 432.

penalties are mentioned in this royal grant for those who failed to carry out their legitimate duties as well as for the king himself, in case he failed to do his own duty.

If a Brahman stole the property of the god (*dēvara dēvasy[v]ada*) from the priest of the locality (*yī sthānada pāda mūladavara*), he would be declared to be outside the four castes.¹ If a Śēṭṭi committed the same fault, he would be declared to be outside the entire Baḷaṇja (*dharma*). If the Vokkalu Makkalu² committed it, they would be fined 1,000 *honnu* per head. If any one partially disfigured the *sthāna*³, 500 *honnu*; and he who did it completely, 100 *honnu* (extra?). If any one committed a murder, the guilty man was, according to usage, to remain with the enemies for seven days (? *kondaḍe kolisi konḍava haḡeḡaḷa ēḷu dina yiddu hōya maryāde*). If the *tantri*, whose duty it was to perform all the ceremonies in connection with the purificatory bath (*avabhṛta snāna*) of the god, observing all the *sankrāntis*, failed to do his duty, he would be fined ten and a half *honnu*. He who

1. The meaning is not quite clear *yī dēvara dēvasya [va] da kuditaṇeyolage yī sthānada pāda-mūladavara mēle yilidetta kaladade bettaṇda rī dade haḡe kodī ele golu kadī hode end-ivara nālku jāṭiyolu Brāhmana mādi dade kannu koī-jāṭi sarvasya (va) nālku jāṭiyim poragu*. I am not sure that I have rendered this passage correctly into English. B. A. S.

2. *Vokkalu makkaḷu* lit. "sons of the representatives", since we have seen that *okkalu* was used to denote the representatives of the *nagaras* in olden times in Tuluva. But nowadays the word *vokkalu* means tenant, and *Vokkēlme* is the name given to the Buṇṇs. B. A. S.

3. *Sthāna*, as we have already remarked elsewhere, denoted the locality or district or place. But in this particular record it seems to have been used for the temple itself. B. A. S.

failed to carry out his appointed functions at the *āsrama kāla*, and he, at the *dhāre-kīlsānti kāla*, would be fined one and a half *honnu* respectively. If the original priests (*pāda-mūladavaru*) failed to bring the daily *naivēdya* rice, and to report daily about the agreeable series of stories or conversations (*kathā-māle*), the president (*adhyakṣa*) (of the original priests ?) would be fined five and a half *honnu*. If the permanent *senabova* failed to keep the accounts, he would be fined ten and a half *honnu*. If the *adhikāri* failed to supply oil to the lamp that was to be kept burning always (*nandā divigege*), he would be fined ten and a half *honnu*. If (the official whose name is effaced) failed to perform the *śrī bali*, or sacred offering of rice, three times (a day), or to cleanse the remains of the offerings to the gold (*nirmālya...bandu vōlagisadiddode*), if the customary pledges were not carried out (? *yathā krammadalu aḍapu naḍeyadiddaḍe*),—for all these for the daily food (*andina grāsakke*), the fine would be double.... If the *adikāri* did not perform the customary usages concerning the *ayana*, 101 *honnu*. If the owner of the shops (*angaḍiya adhikāri*) did not supply the Brahmans with the daily provisions like rice, oil for Śivarātri, etc.,. he would be fined ten and a half *honnu*; the same amount was imposed on those who failed to carry out the ceremonies on (four ?) successive *Amāvāsya*s;¹ and half a *honnu* for him who neglected to look after the burning of the per-

1. The meaning of this is not clear *mādaḍke (ku) layi nāḍalu yiradalu, Belyintūralu yivarında bhalavaliya konḍu bandu neruvuḍu Amavāsenālku agrava naḍayisadiddaḍe hattuvare daṇḍa*.

petual lamp. There is no usage in regard to the building of a palace within the limits of the temple (*dēvālayadalu aramane kattuva maryāde yilla*). Five and a half *honnu* were to be imposed (as fine) on a class of temple servants (*Bākenenēges*)—who unfortunately cannot be identified—for non-attendance.¹ If the king failed to investigate and to protect all this, he would incur the sin of having killed a thousand cows and a thousand Brahmans on the banks of the Ganges and at Rāmesvaram (*yint-iva ellavam vicārisi raksisadiddade arasinge Gange Rāmesvaradalu sāvira kavileya savira Brāhmaṇara konda pāpa*). Great success to uncle (*māva*) Kulaśekhara-deva, who issued this stone charter of righteousness (*yint-i-dharmamam śīla-śāsanam geyyd*) by the nephews (*aliyandiru*) Bankideva and Bammadeva.²

1. *Kūtaduvu Bākenengeyavaru tāvu eṇḍu baḥa maryādeyolu bāradiddade ayiduware danda.* B. A. S.

2. 23 B of 1901; S. I. I. VII, No. 185, pp 81-82.

CHAPTER III

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Summary.—1. The Śātavāhanas and Tuluva—the rejection of the theory relating to the supposed identity of the Ālupas and the Śātavatas, the Śātavāhanas, the Cuṣus, and the Anus—the conquest of Sahya by Gotamīputra Śātakarnī. 2. Tuḷuva and the Western Cālukyas—Kīrtivarmā I—Pulikeśin II—Vikramāditya Satyāśraya—Kīrtivarmā II—(The Rāṣtrakūṭa ascendancy)—Vikramāditya VI—and the Ālupas. 3. The Senavars and Tuluva. 4. The Pallavas and the Ālupa rulers. 5. The Colas and Tuḷuva. 6. The Ālupas and the Pāndyas—Neduṅḡeliyan's conquests—Saḍaiyan Ranadhira's conquests—Saḍaiyan's date. 7. The Rāṣtrakūṭas and the Ālupas—the rebellion of Citravāhana II—the date of Citravāhana II and of Rājāditya. 8. The Śāntaras and Tuluva—the Udayāvara *vīragal*—the Bārakūru *vīragal*—Rapaśāgara and the Śāntaras—foreign foes mentioned in Kunda-varmā's inscription of Kadri—*Mahāmandaleśvara* Lokanāthesvara's place in Tuluva history,—Bankideva Ālupendradeva's relations with the Śāntaras—the Śāntara rulers Jagadeva and Pāndyadeva in Bārakūru—the Śāntara seat at Kervāśe—how the Ālupas came to append the surname Pāṇḍya to their names. 9. The Kadambas and the Ālupas—the Kadambas of Banavāsī—troubles in the reign of Bhujabala Kuḷaśekhara Ālupendra I—Soyideva's general levied tribute from Tuluva—the battle of Bīrusa and the Kadamba invasion in the reign of Kadamba Mallideva—Kāva Deva's generals attack Sōde and Ballayamakki and the battle of Perige. The Kadambas of Goa and Tuluva—Jayakeśin I's subjugation of Tuḷuva. 10. The Kaḷacuriya, the Kākatiya, and the Hosagunda schemes—Keśi Rāja's conquest of Sanka Male—Kākatiya Rudradeva's alleged subjugation of Tuḷuva the claims of the Hosagunda rulers to be *Promoters*

of the Tulu Rāyas examined. 11. The Hoysalas and Tuluva—the early Hoysalas on friendly terms with the Ālupas—causes of enmity between the Ālupas and the Hoysalas—Viṣṇuvardhana Deva's conquest of the Tulu kings—the Hoysala general who conquered Tuluva—references to the subjugation of Tuluva by Viṣṇuvardhana Deva in later records—Ālvakheda not broken up by the Hoysalas—Boppa Danḍādhipati's claims to have subjugated Tuluva—the Ālupa trouble in A.D. 1194—Vira Ballāla-Deva III and Tuluva—as governor over Bārakūru in A.D. 1281—the I and the II. Battles of Sirīśi—the Battle of Candāvūru—Vira Ballāla Deva's visit to Bārakūru in A.D. 1338—his chief crowned queen Kṛsnāyī Tāyī a Tuluva princess—the importance of Bārakūru under the Hoysala and Vijayanagara monarchs.

1. THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS AND TULUVA

Of late an attempt has been made to connect the Ālupas with the Śātavāhanas and the Cutus.¹ It is maintained that the Aryan Śātvatas, or Śātvats of northern India, settled down in Dakṣināpatha, that they were the ancestors of the Śātavāhanas, that one branch of the Śātavāhanas called the Cuṭus decended into Tuluva, and that the Ālupas were a branch of the Cutus

To these conjectures we may add the following more substantial reasons for asserting that the Śātavāhanas and the Ālupas may have had some features of common origin. The Ālupas like the Śātavāhanas belonged to the Lunar race. The Ālupas could lay claims, like the Śātavāhanas and the Śātvats, to a local (Karnā-

1. This is Mr. Govinda Pai's theory. *Itihāsada iruṭṭaḷḷi Tuluva-nādu. The Pañcakajjāya volume of the 13th Karnāṭaka Sāhitya Sam-mēlana*, 1927, p 108 seq.

taka ?) origin. The Ālupas and the Śātavāhanas had some admixture of Nāga blood.¹ And, finally, one of the Śātavāhanas, as will be mentioned presently, conquered Sahya which is the name given to that part of the Western Ghats passing through Tuḷuva.

But none of these arguments can support the theory that the Ālupas were in any way connected with the Śātavāhanas. Firstly, the Ālupa records found in Tuluva and over the Ghats do not mention one peculiarity of the Śātavāhanas. In the Śātavāhana records the name of the mother of the king always appears in conjunction with his name. The actual names of the mothers are not given but they are called after the *gotra* of their family priest.² Secondly, the Śātvats, who are supposed by some to have been the ancestors of the Śātavāhanas, and the Vṛṣṇis are said to have lived in *sanghas* or corporations. The Ālupas never lived in corporations, although, as we have pointed out, village organization in ancient Tuḷuva possessed some sort of corporate character. Thirdly, the Śātvats and the Vṛṣṇis are described to have been irreverent towards Brahmans.³ This can never be said of the Ālupas whose gifts to the Brahmans and temples have been described above

1. On the Nāga affinity of the Śātavāhanas, read *I. A.*, XIV. pp. 333-334, Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 15; Sukthankar, *E. I.* XIV, pp. 154-155, H. C Chaudhuri, *Pol. Hist.* p. 220. (1st ed.), pp. 260-261 (2nd ed.)

2. Rice, *ibid* p. 16, Cunningham *Stupa of Barhut*, p. 129.

3. Chaudhuri, *ibid*, p. 73 (1st ed.), 90 (2nd ed.)

The identification of the Ālupas with the Anūpas is likewise untenable. No doubt there is some outward similarity between the word Anūpa and Ālupa (Alūpa), that both the Anūpas and the Ālupas belong to the Lunar dynasty, and that both the Anūpas and the Ālupas are described to have ruled on the western coast of India. But the Anūpas occupied the valley of the Narmadā,¹ while the Ālupas, the fertile region of Tuḷuva. Secondly, in no Ālupa record is the word Anūpa met with.² Thirdly, the fact that Sahya and Anūpa are distinctly mentioned in one of the records of Gotamīputra Śātakarnī, as having been ruled by him, clearly proves that Anūpa was never identified with Ālupa.

We may dispense with a third set of assumptions concerning the alleged relationship between the Cutus and the Ālupas. The Cutus were the feudatories of the Āndhras. Their coins have been found in Aparānta (Kanhari), Konkan (Kārwar and Banavāsī), and in Shimoga (Malavalli). The titles of their rulers, as determined from their coins, were Rano Cutu Kaḍānamdasa and Rano Mudānamdasa³. Here a forced relation-

1. Rapson, *Coins of the Āndhrabhrtyas*, Intr. p. xxxii.

2. The Anūpas are also placed on the east coast of India, and near the Pāndyan kingdom. *Mahābhārata*, Udyoga Parva, XVIII, p. 579 (Roy) See also Nripendra Kumar Datta, *Aryansation of India*, pp. 34-35

3. Rapson, *ibid*, Intr. pp. lxxxii-lxxxiv; *E.C.* VII. Intr. p. 4; *Sk.* 263, 264, p. 142, *I.A.* XXV, p. 28, *JRAS* for 1905, p. 304.

ship between the Cuṭus and the Ālupas is not altogether impossible. The Cutus ruled over Kār wār and Banavāsi. The Ālupas, too, as we have seen, were in some way connected with Banavāsi

But these arguments are of no avail in establishing the alleged connection between the Cuṭus and Ālupas. In the first place, the trans-Ghat origin of the Ālupas can no longer be maintained. Secondly, no Cuṭu coins or inscriptions have been found till now in Tuḷuva. This justifies our assumption that the Cutus had nothing to do with the Ālupa kingdom. Thirdly, the similarity between the name of one of the Ālupa kings and the name generally prefixed to the Cuṭus is only accidental. Finally, all the Cutu coins and inscriptions hitherto discovered are in Sanskrit, whereas the Ālupa records are mostly in Kannaḍa. This clearly demonstrates that the Ālupas did not belong to the same stock as that of the Cutus.

Notwithstanding the fact that no identity of origin, language, or interests is possible between the Ālupas on the one hand, and the Śāt vats, the Śātavāhanas or Śātakarnis and the Cutus on the other, yet it has to be admitted that the inclusion of the name Sahya among numerous conquests of Pulumāvi Gotamīputra Śātakarnī, in an inscription of queen Gautamī Balāsri, the mother of the ruler, dated in the nineteenth regnal year of the king (circa A.D. 124),¹ proves beyond doubt

1. Rapson, *Coins.*, pp. xxx-xxv.

that the Śātakarṇi arms had extended probably as far as the northern parts of Tuluva. Beyond this nothing can be said for the present concerning the relationship between the Śātakarṇi kingdom and Tuluva.

2. TUḤUVA AND THE WESTERN CĀLUKYAS

On the strength of the above Śātakarṇi record, it may reasonably be supposed that Tuluva did not form an independent political unit in the first half of the second century A.D. And yet we have ventured to suggest in the foregoing pages, on the close similarity between the word Oloikhoira of Ptolemy and the Ālvakheḍa of inscriptions that in the middle of the second century A.D., Tuḥuva was known by that name to the western peoples. Whatever may be the difficulty in finding the origin of the Ālupa kingdom, there is no denying the fact that in the fifth and especially in the sixth century A.D., it was a prominent principality.

We have already remarked that one of the earliest historical references to the Ālupa kingdom is in the Mahākūta inscription of the Western Cālukya monarch Mangaleśa, dated A.D. 601-2, wherein it is said that Kīrtivarmā I conquered Āluka.¹ The probable date when Kīrtivarmā I subjugated the Tuluva kingdom may now be fixed. King Kīrtivarmā I's own lithic records do not enlighten us on this point. We have, therefore, to argue backwards with the aid of the

¹ *I. A.*, XIX, pp. 10, 14, 19; seq; *E. I.* VII. App. *A List of Insc. of S. India*, No. 5, p. 3.

records of his younger brother and successor Mangaleśa. Here too opinion is divided concerning the date of king Mangaleśa's accession. Fleet places it in Śaka 489 (A.D. 567-8), and Rice, in A.D. 597.¹ If we accept A.D. 567-8 as the earliest date for king Mangaleśa, then, the conquest of Ālupa by king Kīrtivarmā I is to be placed before that date. It is not unlikely that Kīrtivarmā I may have subjugated Ālvakheḍa in about A.D. 575 when, according to our calculations, Māramma Ālvarasa ruled over the Tuluva kingdom.

King Mangaleśa's attention being directed to the north where the Revatī-dvīpa, the Mātangas, and the Kalacuriya king Buddha, son of Śankaragaṇa, had to be conquered,² the Ālupa ruler seems to have raised the banner of revolt, thus necessitating another Western Cālukya invasion of Ālvakheḍa. This explains why in the Aihole inscription of Pulikeśin II, dated Śaka 556 (A.D. 634-5), the following is narrated in regard to

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts*, p. 21; *Mys & Coorg*, p. 63. Rice commits an error when he makes Jayasimha the father only of Rājasimha, Ranarāga. *Ibid*; cf Fleet, *ibid*, map facing where it is rightly said that Jayasimha I was the father of Buddhavarmā and Ranarāga. That Rice is wrong in maintaining that A. D. 597 is the first year of Mangaleśa's reign, is clear from No. III Bādāmi Cave inscription dated Śaka 500 (A. D. 578-9), of the twelfth year of his reign. This suggests beyond doubt that A. D. 566-7 was the first year of Mangaleśa's reign. See Fleet, *I. A. III*, p. 305; *ibid*, VI. p. 363; *Palī, Sanskrit, and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, No 39, *Dyn. Kan. Dts* p. 21. B. A. S.

2. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts*, p. 21 Rice asserts that Mangaleśa overcame the Ālupas at the same time he subdued the Kalacuriyas. *Mys & Coorg*, p. 61. There is no basis for this assertion. B. A. S.

the Ālupa and Ganga rulers.—“Although in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven sins, the Ganga and Ālupa lords, being subdued by his dignity, were always intoxicated by drinking the nector of close attendance upon him.”¹ The statements that the Ganga and the Ālupa lords were merely “subdued by his dignity,” and that they were permitted to drink the “nectar of close attendance upon him” (Pulikeśin II) clearly suggest that he gave much prominence to the two rulers. By A.D. 634-5, therefore, Tuluva had passed under the Western Cālukyas once again. The Ālupa ruler who, according to our surmise, was probably the contemporary of the great Pulikeśin II Satyāśraya was Kundavarmarasa (I).

The close association of the Ālupa king with Pulikeśin II as described in the above record, explains to some extent the good feeling that continued to exist between the suzerain rulers and the feudatory Ālupas till the days of Vinayāditya Satyāśraya. We have already described how Vinayāditya Satyāśraya gave grants of land at the request of his feudatory the illustrious Mahārāja Citravāhana I, to deserving Brahmans.

1. *E I VI* p 10 Mr. M. V. Krishna Rao writes that Pulikeśin II “baffled all his uncle’s intrigues, and by the use of energy, counsel and intrepid support from Durivinita and the Ālupas, the traditional allies of the Calukya dynasty, neutralised all the advantage that Mangalesa had gained by the actual possession of power, and succeeded in becoming king.” (M. V. Krishna Rao, *The Gangas of Talkad*, p. 39 Madras, 1936). No source of information can be adduced in support of all these imaginary statements. B. A. S.

The Ālupas seem to have acquiesced in the supremacy of the Western Cālukyas down to the days when the latter were expelled from the Karnāṭaka regions by the Rāstrakūṭas. This is inferred from an undated inscription of Kīrtivarmā II (A.D. 747-A.D. 757), in Sanskrit and Kannada characters, found at Aḍūru in the Kāsaragōḍu tāḷuka, South Kanara ¹

With the defeat of Kīrtivarmā II by the Rāstrakūṭas, the political hegemony of Karnāṭaka passed into the hands of the latter. And we ought to narrate here in strict chronological order the relations between the Ālupas, the Rāstrakūṭas, and other Karnāṭaka rulers. But in order to bring the history of the Western Cālukyas in Tuluva to an end, we may be permitted to allude to the relations between the later Western Cālukyas and the Ālupa kings ²

1. Kielhorn, *E. I* VII. No 50, p. 9, Rangachari, *Top List*. II 76 A, p. 854

2. Here we meet with an inscription which can be properly located only with the help of future research. It is dated A. D. 968, and it narrates that when (with usual Cālukya titles) "Caṭṭiga Deva was ruling the kingdom of the world, and (with the usual Kadamba titles) was ruling the Banavāsi 12,000 under the shadow of his sole umbrella, possessed of the qualities of an appointed great minister, holding the office of Pērggade made in Mangalūru and for the god (on the date specified) at the time of the sun's eclipse, Caṭṭiga Deva was washing the feet of the Brahmins of gave Doravale to the god " *E.C.* VIII. Sb. 465, p. 78. We do not know whether we have to refer the name Mangalūru as given in the above inscription to the Mangalūru of Tuluva which, as we have already seen, came into prominence as a provincial capital in the ninth century A.D. Moreover, it cannot be determined who this Caṭṭiga Deva was in the genealogy of the Western Cālukyas. The dates of

The next great Western Cālukya name we meet with in the history of the foreign relations of the Ālupas, is that of Vikramāditya VI, Tribhuvanamalla II, better known as Vikramāṅka Deva or Vikramārka. An incident took place when this ruler had been placed as governor over Gangavāḍi Six Thousand, as is related in an inscription dated A.D. 1060. It was in the reign of his father Trailokyamalla. The inscription informs us that on Ballavarasa paying a visit to the Pānugal fort, during the days of Kadamba Satyāśraya Deva, who was placed over Kānanūr, the following heroic event happened—Tuluva Candiga said “I will not let (the nail) grow to my finger”, and cut off the finger which he had given, at the Permmālu pillar, and climbing up the Bherundeśvara pillar, leaped upon the point of a spear and gained the world of gods. At this Ballavarasa and Satyāśraya Deva made suitable endowments to the temple in the Banavase Thousand. We may incidentally observe here that this Bherundeśvara pillar had been erected in A.D. 1047 by the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*

the last Western Cālukya king Vikramāditya IV, after whom the Rāṣṭrakūṭas held the suzerainty of the Karnāṭaka, are not available. And the earliest date for Taila II, who retrieved the fortunes of the Western Cālukyas, is A.D. 973-4. Whether Taila himself bore the name Cattiga is not certain. In a damaged inscription found in the Narasiṃha temple in the premises of the old Siddheśvara temple at Hāveri, probably of the times of the king Jagadekamalla II, (A.D. 1138-A.D. 1150), an account of the Western Cālukya house is given from Taila II's time. In this genealogical account Taila II's son is called Sattiga (Satyāśraya). Benger, *Karnataka Historical Review*, II, No. 2, p. 8 seq. Was the Sattiga mentioned here the same as the Cattiga of the above record? B. A. S.

Cāmunḍa Rāya.¹ What precisely is meant by the above anecdote, we are unable to determine. But in the eleventh century A.D., the Tuluvas were evidently renowned as heroes.

That Vikramāditya Deva VI conquered Tuḷuva is proved from the writings of his court poet Bilhana who, in his *Vikramāṅkadeva Caritam*, informs us thus:—"When he (Vikramāṅka Deva) resumed his march, the trumpet of his army reminded the kings of Maḷyadeśa of his former great deeds. Jayakeśin, the king of Koṅkan, came to him and brought him presents. The Lord of Ālupa made his submission and received benefits in return. The wives of the king of Kerala wept when they thought of Vikrama's former deeds".²

The lord of Ālupa mentioned by Bilhaṇa cannot easily be identified. Vikramāditya VI reigned from A.D. 1073-4 till about A.D. 1126-7.² In the Ālupa chronology, as outlined above, we see two rulers who may be placed as contemporaries of Vikramāditya VI—Udayādityarasa Pāṇḍya Pattiga Deva and Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra-deva. It is probable that the former is the lord of Ālupa referred to by Bilhaṇa; but it is equally probable that Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva acknowledged the suzerainty of the Western Cālukya monarch. While delineating the history of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva (A.D. 1113-A.D. 1155), we asserted that he seemed to have acknowledged a suzerain in A.D. 1113-4; and that

1. E. C. VII. Sk 152, p. 109, Sk. 151, pp 108-9.

2. Bilhana, *Vikramāṅkadeva Caritam*, Intr. p. 34, (Bombay, 1875)

his independent reign may be placed between A.D. 1138 and A.D. 1155. The last date of the reign of Vikramāditya VI is A.D. 1126-7; and the earliest date of the independent regime of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva is A.D. 1138. Therefore, it is probable that the Ālupa ruler continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Western Cālukyas in A.D. 1113-4.¹ This was a year when there was trouble in the country, as we shall relate later on; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Ālupa king Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva strengthened his position by receiving protection from the Western Cālukyas against his new enemy, the Hoysalas, whose greatest soldier and statesman Visnuvardhana Deva was planning the subjugation of Tuḷuva.

We may observe here that the memory of the great Vikramāditya VI's conquest of Tuḷuva still survives in Tuluva. In Bārakūru near the old fort behind the Pañcaliṅgeśvara temple is pointed out "the seat of Vikramāditya". The Vikramāditya could not have been Vikramāditya of Ujjain, as the people relate, but only Vikramāditya VI. The name Vikramārka is also met with in Tuḷu legends.

The Western Cālukyas continued to hold Tuḷuva under them till the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D. Of the Western Cālukya monarch Someśvara Deva's general, Kāma Deva, also called Kāva Deva, it is

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* pp. 48-51. He seems to have lived till A.D. 1132-3 *Ibid.* p. 51. Rice places him between A.D. 1076 and A.D. 1120. *Mys. & Coorg.* p. 73.

said in an inscription dated Śaka 1111 (A.D. 1189-90) that, after subjugating the countries of Male, Tulu, the Konkanas, and the Western Ghats, he was made the viceroy over Banavase 12,000, the Pānugal 500, and the Puligere or Lakṣmeśvar 300.¹ The Ālupa ruler who may have been subjugated was perhaps Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I.

3. THE SENAVARS AND TULUVA

While describing the events in the reign of the Ālupa ruler Citravāhana I, it was said that one of his inscriptions mentioned Senavarasa and the Dharmakaraṇika, who were to divide and to give the palace office share (of the produce ?) on a plastered floor. The name Senavarasa here deserves comment. These Senavara rulers belonged to the Kacchara-*vamśa* and had the lion crest and the serpent flag. They hailed from Anūpa-deśa.² Excepting the name Senavarasa mentioned here, we do not meet with any other name of the rulers of the Kacchara-*vamśa* in the Ālupa records.

4. THE PALLAVAS AND THE ĀLUPA RULERS

On the floor of the Subrahmaṇya temple in the village of Mallam, Guḍūr tāluka, Nellore district, is a record which is dated in the fifteenth regnal year of Nandipotarasa, and which mentions that the men of the district, the villagers, and the heads of the assemblies,

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 86.

2. This topic will be dealt with by me in a separate paper.
B. A. C

gave at the order of Calukkiarasar, on the petition of Āluva-arasar, thirty-five *kalañju* of gold for maintaining the lamps of the god Subrahmanya at Tiruvānbūr situated in the Paṇṇiṇṇilangōttam.¹

Nandipottarasar, Calukkiarasar, and Āluva-arasar are now to be identified. Two or more Nandipottarasaras are known to Pallava history. There is Nandipottarasar, the Pallava ruler who won the victory at Teḷḷāru. The date of this ruler is not known.² Then there is the Pallava king Nandipottavarmā, who was involved in a struggle with the Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya II.³ An incident in connection with this Pallava king Nandipottavarmā, who is also called by some Nandivarmā II Pallavamalla, will help us to elucidate the above identification of the Āluva-arasar. Scholars are uncertain as to whether Nandipottavarmā was defeated or killed by Vikramāditya II.⁴ Whatever may be the interpreta-

1. Rangachari, *Top list*, II, N1 205-206, p. 1074.

2. *Ep. Rept.* for 1913, p. 89.

3. Pathak, *E I* IX. pp. 205-6.

4. There are two copper-plate grants which are the source of information for this question—the Vokkalēri plates dated in A.D. 757, and the Kendūru plates issued by Vikramāditya II's son and successor Kīrtivarmā II. Rice, who had discovered the Vokkalēri plates, gives us conflicting opinions concerning Nandipottavarmā. In one connection he asserts that "Nandipottavarman is explicitly related to be the name of the Pallava king who was slain in battle in the Udāka province by the Cālukya king Vikramāditya," when all the royal insignia fell into the hands of the conqueror, who made a triumphant entry into Kañci but without plundering it (*Mys. Inscr. Intr.* pp. lv1, 300). But in another connection Rice writes that Nandipottarasar was merely beaten by the same Western Cālukya monarch at the beginning

tion given to the Vokkelēri and the Kendūru plates concerning the fate that overtook Nandipotavarmā at the hands of Vikramāditya II, it is permissible to identify the Nandipotarasar of the Mallam inscription with the same Nandipotavarmā who was beaten by Vikramāditya II. But Calukiarasar mentioned in the Mallam plates could not have been Vikramāditya II, but he was probably Vijayāditya Satyāśraya. We base our remarks on the following assumptions — Vikramāditya II's enmity to the Pallavas is well known from the Vokkelēri and the Kendūru plates. It is unlikely, therefore, that he ordered a Pallava ruler whom he hated as one "who had obscured the splendour of former kings of his (Vikramāditya's) lineage",¹ to give a grant to a god. We have to suppose, therefore, that the event mentioned in the Mallam plates took place in the reign of his father and predecessor Vinayāditya. For Vinayāditya Satyāśraya's reign was peaceful, and

of his reign, i.e., in about A.D. 733. (*E. C. X* Intr pp xvii, seq.) The same is repeated in *M. J. & Coorg* pp. 54, 65.

Fleet, who noted the same Vokkelēri plates, is likewise uncertain as to the fate that befell Nandipotavarman. In one place he writes that Vikramāditya II "slew the Pallava king named Nandipotavarman" (*Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 29, 1st ed., Bombay, 1882). But in another work he says that when Vikramāditya reached Tundakavīśaya, he merely attacked and put to flight the Pallava Nandipotavarmā, who, according to Fleet, was the son of Hiranyavarmā. (*Bom. Gaz.* I P. II, p. 327) K. B. Pathak, who edited the other document Kendūru plates, opined that Nandipotavarmā was merely put to flight by the Western Cālukya ruler (*E. I.* IX. pp 205-6) The Rev. Henry Heras merely follows Pathak *Studies in Pallava History*, pp. 51-54. B. A. S.

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 29; Pathak, *ibid.*, pp. 205-6.

he maintained the supremacy acquired by his father and by his grand-father in the south.¹

Now, from the records already cited, we know that it was Vijayāditya Satyāśraya's father Vinayāditya Satayāśraya who had twice been requested by the Ālupa king Citravāhana I to make grants to worthy Brahmins in the Eḍevolal-*visaya* in the Banavase country in A.D. 692 and A. D. 694. The two grants had been made when the royal camp was in Citrasedu in the Toramara-*visaya* and in Karañjapatra in Hareṣapura. From these two records it is certain that the Ālupa king was prone to make requests to his sovereign the Western Cālukya monarch. We have to suppose that as he had petitioned Vinayāditya Satyāśraya to make grants of land to learned Brahmins on two different occasions, he made a third request to Vinayāditya Satyāśraya's son and successor Vijayāditya, who seems to have been on friendly terms with his neighbouring rulers including the Pallava kings.² If this is allowed, then, the Caḷukkiarasar mentioned in the Mallam plates would be Vijayāditya Satyāśraya, and the Āḷuva-arasar, Citravāhana I. In that case, the Mallam inscription must have been inscribed before the defeat of Nandipotavarmā at the hands of Vikramāditya II.³ But the occasion which made Citravāhana I

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 29.

2. *Ibid.*, Vijayāditya Satyāśraya was also accustomed to move about his Empire. See *ibid.*, pp. 28-9.

3. Dubreuil gives three Nandivarmās in his genealogical list of the Pallavas. The dates given to Nandivarmā II, who is the one referred to above, *viz.* A.D. 717-779, do not agree with our surmise. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 70. (Pondichery, 1920).

go over to Mallam in the Guḍūr tāluka will remain for the present unsolved.

5. THE COḶAS AND TULUVA

In the first quarter of the eleventh century A. D., a well known Tamil general seems to have subdued Tuḷuva. This is gathered from a record of Rāja Rāja Cola, whose great general Pañcava Mahārāya is credited with the conquests of many countries among which Tuḷuva and Koñkan are mentioned. The inscription which informs us this is dated A. D. 1012. It further relates that having obtained the rank of *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* for Bengirimāṇḍala, and Gangamaṇḍala, Pañcava Mahārāya "seized Tuḷuva and Koñkana, pursued after Maleya, pushed aside and passed over Cera, Telugu and Raṭtiga, as if in sport"¹.

Whether the reference in the above inscription is to an actual invasion of Tuluva by the Coḷas, or whether it points to a temporary occupation of that district cannot be made out with certainty. In all likelihood it was the latter that was the result of an expedition which, while directed mainly against Kar-nāṭaka proper, swept over certain parts of Tuḷuva leaving traces of Coḷa influence here and there. The following considerations will make it clear that it was a temporary occupation of Tuḷuva. The fact that no Ālupa name figures in the genealogical account of the Tuḷuva rulers after Kundavarmarasa II (A.D. 967),

1. E. C. III. Sr. 140, p. 33.

strongly suggests that it was during the times of his successor that the Cola menace passed over Tuḷuva. But the pointed reference to the Cola danger in the inscription of the next prominent Ālupa king Bankideva Ālupendradeva I proves that it was more than a passing expedition which the Colas had sent to Tuluva, and that it was an Ālupa king who received Tuluva honour.

We have given above the *birudas* of Bankideva Ālupendradeva I. The Someśvara temple stone inscription found in Mūḍukēri in Bārakūru, in addition to the *birudas*, seems to refer to a Cola raid in the following terms:—“...rē mēle (va)nda Cōḷana daṇḍam...Benkonḍa yul-titta Komara danda..”¹ This and the explicit reference in the preceding lines to the fact that he established his authority in the Tulu-*visaya* (*Tuḷu-visayadol nijājneyam nīlisi*) proves beyond doubt that Bankideva Ālupendradeva I was responsible for the re-establishment of Ālupa authority which had been to some extent shattered by the short-lived Coḷa occupation of Tuluva. Indeed the unique *biruda* given to him in the above record as well as in another one also found in Bārakūru, viz., that he, after having re-established his authority in Tuluva, ruled over all the seven Male and the Seven Kombu (*Maleyēlum [Kombu]m-naḷinale-ēlu-Male pā[[]]ipar ellamam nija svāmi S’rī-Banki-Ālupendra-dēvar*), implies that he carried out successfully the Ālupa arms far into the Koṅgudeśa bordering on the Tamil land.

1. 136 of 1901 ; S. I. I. VII, No. 327, p. 176, 11. 7-8.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that the Colas have left some traces of their occupation in Tuluva. For instance, in Bārķūru we have a quarter called Cōlkēri (Coła street). How this street came to be called by that name is inexplicable. Another reference to the Cołas is found in the history of Hāḍu-halli or Hāḍaļļi or Sangītapura, the capital of the Sāluvas, which was within Tuluva in the olden days. Legend relates that a king of the Colamaṇḍalam lost all his children by snake-bite, and coming to the village of Hāḍalli, his queen was delivered of a son who was immediately bitten by a snake. Just then a Brahman, skilled in the use of *mantras* for curing snake-bites, forced the snake to suck back the poison, whereupon the child recovered. The Cola king built the temple of Coliśvara at Bhaṭṭakala to commemorate that event.¹

The inter-connection between the people of the Tamil country and the Tuļuvās during these ages is further borne out by the history of the immigrant classes of the Tonḍaimaṇḍalam among whom the Tuluva Vellālers figure prominently. These Tuluva Vellālers formed by far the greater body of the settlers who were induced to remain and bring the whole of the Tonḍaimaṇḍalam province under cultivation. Special privileges were given to the Tuluva Vellālers, e. g., the *kāṇiyam*, *mēriś* (*mīrāśi*), and other rights, still enjoyed by their descendants. It was Ādonḍai Cakra-

1. Burgess-Cousens, *Revised List of Ant. Remains*, p. 194. Hāḍaļļi lies 11 miles E. N. E. of B-ṭka]

varti who conferred these privileges on them. Of those who held the *mirāṣi* rights down to the other day, the Tuluva Vellāḷers formed the majority.¹

The legendary notices of the Coḷa interference in Tuluva affairs are less reliable than the information supplied by the inscriptions. The success of the Tuluva arms under Bankideva Ālupendradeva in the Seven Male and the Seven Kombu may have been partly responsible for a recrudescence of Coḷa aggression in the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D. This is inferred from a record dated A.D. 1086 which relates that Rāja Kesarivarmā Kulottunga Cola Deva's great conquests extended as far as the middle Sayyam (Sahya) where furious rutting elephants were captured.² More details concerning the subjugation of middle Sayyam are not available. The Ālupa ruler, who was a contemporary of Kulottunga Cola Deva, according to our estimate, was Udayādityarasa Pāṇḍya Paṭṭiga Deva Oḍeya.

6. THE PĀṆḌYAS OF MADURA AND THE ĀLUPAS

The Pāṇḍyan accounts inform us that one Neḍuñjeliyan or Neḍuñjeliyan, styled by some the II of that name, led a victorious expedition into the Cera land, and that he captured the sea port of Mutthu Vellil from a tribe called "Tholuvar", together with the famous emporium of Śaliyur in the Gulf of Mannar.³

1. Ellis, cited by Wilson, *Mac. Coll.*, I. pp. 190-191.

2. *E. C. IX. Cp. 76, p. 147.*

3. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils 1800 Years ago*, p. 84.

The name "Tholuvār", is strikingly similar to the name Tuḷuvār but nothing beyond this can be said concerning the extension of the Pāṇḍya arms into Tuluva. The figure of Neḍuñjeliyan himself is still enveloped in mystery.¹ And nothing definite is known of the activities of the early Pāṇḍyan rulers.

When we come to the ninth century A.D., however, we meet with a few details concerning the Pāṇḍyan kings and Tuḷuva. The Vēlvikkudī plates relate that Arikesari Asamasamam Māravarman conquered the Kerala country several times at the strongly fortified town of Puliyūr. The same grant informs us that his son Śaḍaiyan Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra, who had the title of *Madu-Karnātaka*, at the great city called Mangalā-pura where the peacock danced with the cuckoo near tanks perfumed with opening flowers, attacked and destroyed the Marattas.²

The age of the Pāṇḍyan ruler Śaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra is unsettled.³ If Arikesarivarman Parāṅkuśa Māravar-

1. It is surprising that one does not find the name Tholuvār in Mr. Nilkantha Sastri's book *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*. On the different Neḍuñjeliyans, read *ibid*, pp. 21, 26-28, and *ibid*, (n.) 29, 35, 253.

2. Krishna Sastri, *E. I.* XVII, pp. 291, 298.

3. Mr. Nilakanta Sastri writes thus — "He must have succeeded his father at the end of the seventh century A.D. or early in the eighth." (*The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 55). The date given to this ruler as well as to his father Arikesarivarman Parāṅkuśa, who "must have come to the throne some time after the middle of the seventh century '670-710 A.D.'" (*ibid*, p. 51)—these statements are purely imaginary. First, we shall take the argument which Mr. Sastri utilizes to arrive at the date A. D. 670-710 for Arikesarivarman Parāṅkuśa. This is based on the date given to Parāṅkuśa's father Śendan or Jayantavarman. "The

man is to be placed in A.D. 783, his son Śaḍaiyan Kōcc-aḍaiyan Raṇadhīra may reasonably be assigned to A. D. 800. What precisely is meant by the peacocks which danced with the cuckoos cannot be made out. Probably there is some reference here to the emblems and

rule of Śendan or Jayantavarman who succeeded his father Mārva-varman may be taken to have extended over, say, A.D. 654-670" *Ibid*, p. 50. Thus Mr. Sastrī starts with a guess and ends in a conjecture! The erroneous nature of Mr. Sastrī's conclusion will be evident when we determine the date for Arikesarivarman Parāṅkuśa Māravarman. About this ruler Mr. Sastrī writes thus—"There is good reason for identifying this Arikesarī Parāṅkuśa Māravarman with the celebrated Kūn Pāṇḍya of legend, and the contemporary of the Śaiva saint Tirugnānasambandar". *Ibid*, p. 53 He bases his conjectures on the *Periyapurāṇam* "These indications derived from the stories handed down in the *Periyapurāṇam* seem to confirm the system of chronology we have adopted for the Pāṇḍyas of this period." *Ibid*, p. 54.

But the *Periyapurāṇam* is not the only authority on which one may base one's remarks. There are the Jaina and the Kannada writers to be consulted before we can postulate any such theory like the one maintained by Mr. Sastrī. Even if we accept Mr. Sastrī's conjecture that Arikesarivarman Parāṅkuśa was no other than king Kūn Pāṇḍya of the legend, we arrive at the following:—Kūn Pāṇḍya was one of the names of the Pāṇḍyan ruler called Kubja Pāṇḍya, Kundumara, or Dirghamara, or Sundara Pāṇḍya. This ruler was the husband of Queen Mangāyī Akkā of Madhura, the daughter of the Cola king Inu-Kulottunga Cola. (Here we may by the way note that Mr. Sastrī admits this—"there is nothing improbable in the story that the Pāṇḍyan queen of this period was a Cola princess." *Ibid*, p. 54). Kūn Pāṇḍya was called Sundara Pāṇḍya on his being healed and converted from Jainism into Śaivism.

Now, Piḷle Nāyanār was a Śīva-*vīpra* (i.e., an Ārādhyā Brahman) of Śrīkalinagari. He had converted king Inu-Kulottunga Cola into Śaivism, and had won victories over the Jainas and the Buddhists at Tirumarkkada and Tīruvalava. Then under the name of Jñanasamandhar—the Tirujñanasamandhar of the Tamil texts—he had gone to the court of Queen Mangāyī Akkā of Madhura where, as related above, he converted Kūn Pāṇḍya into Śaivism from Jainism. The

flags of the Ālupa rulers about which no direct evidence is forthcoming in history. The late Mr. Krishna Sastri rightly identified the Mangalāpura of the above inscription with Mangalore in Tuluva.¹

But the word Marattas deserves to be explained. This could not have referred to the Marāthas of later 18,000 Jains whom he had defeated were impaled on red hot *sūlas* which Kulacchāri, the Queen Mangāvi Akkā's Śaiva guardian, had prepared. Pille Nāyanār or Jñānasambandhar was, we may incidentally note, the teacher of Vāgīsa or Tīruvāgīśa. These details are gathered from the Kannada works *Cenna Basava Purāna* (55, 33, 34), the *Basava Purāna* (50, 25, 4, 11, 15, 16, 9, 48), the *Praudha Rāya Carite* (Ch 18), and *Rājaśekhara-vilāsa*, (I, 77, 78-88), which range from A.D. 1369 till A.D. 1655. (*Karnātaka Kavī Carite*, I. p. 424; II. pp. 305, 307, 442) It may be objected that their evidence is, therefore, not of much use in determining the date of Kūn Pāndya. But it may be observed here that these Kannada authors faithfully preserved the traditions current in their times, and that, therefore, some reliance may be placed on their statements.

Having learnt something about Kūn Pāndya and the great saint Jñānasambandhar from the Kannada sources, we may now turn our attention to the Jaina writers for determining the date of that ruler. Kūn Pāndya was the contemporary of Jinasenācārya, the author of *Bṛhadharivamśa* of Śaka 705 (*Mys Archl Rept for 1925*, p. 102). Therefore, Kūn Pāndya may definitely be placed in A.D. 783.

Mr Sastri says that Arikesarivarman Parāṅkuśa Māravarman was the same as the "celebreteed Kūn Pāndya of legend, and the contemporary of the Śaiva saint Tīrugnānasambandhar." *The Pāndya Kingdom* p 53, op. cit. If that is, so, then, on Mr. Sastri's own estimate we may place Arikesarivarman Māravarman in A.D. 783. Therefore, the whole edifice which Mr. Sastri has built concerning what he calls "the Age of the First Empire" collapses. We thus find that Mr Venkayya's assertion (*Ep. Rept for 1907*, para. 20) that Arikesari Parāṅkuśa may be assigned to the eighth century A.D.. is more correct. On p. 51 n. (1). Mr. Sastri has vainly endeavoured to demolish Venkayya's arguments. B. A. S

1. E. I. XVII. p. 298. Mr. Nilakanta Sastri follows him. *Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 55

history. The identification of the Marattas can only be solved when we examine the Tuluva-Rāṣṭrakūta relations. The part played by the Rāṣṭrakūtas will presently be explained. Here we may note that in the reign of Prabhūtavārṣa Govīda III, the Rāṣṭrakūta king, an Ālupa feudatory was punished with the forfeiture of a part of his territory. The reason is obvious, on the failure of the Ālupa ruler (Citravāhana II) to carry out the imperial order against Śaḍaiyan Ranadhīra, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa viceroy, no doubt at the instance of the emperor, became angry and sent a general against the Ālupa king. What exactly were the reasons which made the Ālupa king give lukewarm support to the Rāṣṭrakūta cause, we are unable to determine. It may be that the hostility of the Rāṣṭrakūtas to the Western Cālukyas between whom and the Ālupas there had been such good relations for centuries, had something to do with failure of the Ālupa ruler to carry out the imperial commands of the Rāṣṭrakūta monarch. Whatever that may be, Śaḍaiyan Kōccāḍaiyan Ranadhīra, who had attacked and destroyed the Marattas, *i. e.* the Mahā-Rāṣṭrakūtas, in the city of Mangalāpura, seems to have secured the title of *Madu-Karnāṭaka* for having defeated an essentially Karnāṭaka army in a town that was under a Karnāṭaka dynasty.

We thus find that the age we have assigned for Śaḍaiyan Kōccāḍaiyan Ranadhīra agrees perfectly well with the date of the Ālupa king Citravāhana II-*viz.*, A.D. circa 800. Hence the episode of Śaḍaiyan is valu-

able in bringing order out of what was nothing but chaos in the history of the Pāṇḍyan rulers Arikesari Parāṅkuśa Māravarman and his son Śaḍaiyan. The following synchronism may here be noted :—

Pāṇḍya	Ālupa	Rāṣṭrakūṭa
Arikesari Parāṅkuśa Māravarman (A.D. 783)	Vijayāditya (A.D. 750-770)	Dhruva Nīrū- pama I (A.D. 750)
Śaḍaiyan Kōccāḍaiyan Ranadhīra (circa A.D. 794-800)	Citravāhana II (circa A.D. 800)	Govinda III Prabhūtavarsa (A.D. 794-814)

Moreover, the Vēlvikkūḍi grant is also important in determining the date when Mangalāpura became a provincial capital. We remarked above that Kundavarmarasa II had the image of god Lokeśvara installed at Kadirikā in A.D. 967. The Vēlvikkūḍi plates enable us to assert that Mangalāpura was a great city in A.D. 800. It must have been selected as the provincial capital in the days of Kundavarmarasa II for political reasons enumerated elsewhere in this treatise.

7. THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS AND THE ĀLUPAS

The age of Tamil aggrandizement in Tuluva was eventful so far as the history of the Ālupas was concerned. This brings us to the elucidation of the happenings in A.D. 800, concerning the Ālupa ruler Citravāhana II. A few words about the Rāṣṭrakūṭas are

necessary in order to understand better the spirited resistance made by the Ālupa ruler. In the eighth century A.D. the Rāṣtrakūtas led by Dhruva Nirūpama, father of Prabhūtavarṣa Govinda III, had caused consternation in the Karnāṭaka kingdom by imprisoning the Ganga king Śivamāra, and by extending the Rastrakūta arms into the Pallava, Gauda and Mārṣwār territories.¹ Dhruva Nirūpama had but carried out the imperialistic designs of his father Kṛṣṇa I Kannara Akālavārṣa, who had broken the power of Western Cālukyas.² We have seen that the Ālupas had been the feudatories of the Western Cālukyas for nearly two centuries. It is but natural that the Ālupas should have resisted the claims of the Rāṣtrakūtas when the latter now proclaimed their suzerainty over the Cālukya empire.

This alone explains the following stone epigraph, found in the *basti* Hittalu. Māvaligrāma, Sohrab taluka, Mysore State, which pictures Citravāhana II as a rebel. The inscription is not dated. It relates that when Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarasa was ruling the whole world bounded by the four oceans under the shadow of his sole white umbrella, and Rājāditya was ruling the Banavase country as far as the ocean, Citravāhana ruling the Āḷuvakheda Six Thousand, not listening to orders, Kolli Pallava Nolamba being angry, at the bidding of Nolambarāditya, that Kākarāsa arose, and throwing the

1. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg*, pp. 68-9. Read also Altekar. *The Rastrakutas and their Times*, p. 54.

2. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.*, p. 33.

Perugguñji fort into confusion, the brave warriors of both the armies eagerly came out, and "bow closing with bow, horse with horse, a most exciting battle arose. Seeing Citravāhana on the right hand fighting as it overpowered, he ordered Kulamudda (called in another record *rājapuli* [royal tiger], and son of Āridara Poleyamma of Māyile), saying 'you go and fight on this hand', who, accepting it as a favour, closed in, fought, brought down the enemy's pride, put them to headlong flight, and defeated that hand. He himself and many others shooting arrows and approaching close, were caught up as in a cage of arrows and fell, as Bhīṣma fell, without touching the ground."¹

The identification of the Rājāditya mentioned above enables us to fix the date of Citravāhana II who was his contemporary, and incidentally to substantiate our surmise concerning the date assigned to the Pāṇḍyan king Śaḍaiyan Kōccaḍaiyan Ranadhīra. Rājāditya Rāja Parmeśvara is said to have ruled over Banavase Twelve Thousand under king Jagatunga. This record is not dated.² But we know from other records that Jagatunga was the name of Prabhūtavarṣa Govinda III

1. E. C. VIII. Sb. 10, pp. 2-3, text, p. 5 ; Sb. 6, p. 2. Dr. Altekar distorts Ālvakheda into Alurkheda of which he makes Citravāhana "Commissioner"! And he assigns this record to A.D. 797. *Rastrakutas and their Times*, p. 174. Concerning Kulamudda we may note that both Āridara Poleyamma and after him Kulamudda are mentioned under Ereyammarasa who was placed over the Banavasenāḍ in circa A.D. 800 in the reign of Govinda III. E. C. VIII. Sb. 9, op. cit. B. A. S.

2. E. C. VIII. Sb. 22, p. 5.

whose earliest date is A.D. 794.¹ We know too from the Manne plates dated A.D. 802 that in the early years of Govinda III's reign, he was too much engrossed, first, in quelling a confederacy of twelve kings headed by Stambha or Kambha or Śauca Kambha Deva, Ranāvaloka, and then in interfering in the affairs of the Gangas, and, finally, in driving away the Gujjara, in receiving the submission of Mārasrava in the Vindhyas, in encamping on the Tungabhadra on the island of Rāmeśvaratīrtha where the Pallava king paid up in full the tribute that was in arrears, and in witnessing there sports with boars.² It cannot be that Govinda III thought of punishing the Ālupa ruler when his mind was thus distracted by more urgent needs. Hence during the first five or six years of his reign, it is probable that neither Govinda III nor his viceroy Rājāditya placed over Banavase Twelve Thousand turned his attention to the affairs in the Ālupa kingdom. We may, therefore, assign the inscription relating to the viceroyalty of Rājāditya over that province to A.D. 800. The statements that he was ruling "the Banavase country as far as the ocean", and that Citravāhana, who is said to have ruled over the Āḷvakheda Six Thousand, and who "not listening to orders", headed a rebellion, clearly prove the subordinate position of the latter. Rice is, therefore, justified in assigning this inscription to A.D. 800.

1 Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 67.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 69-70.

But Rice supposes that Rājādityarasa was the son of Kolli Pallava Noḷamba, the Kolliyarasa of the Gāṇjam plates.¹ And he also asserts that Nolambārādityarasa was advised by his father Kolli Pallava (in the exercise of his paternal authority) to attack Citravāhana, and to reduce him to obedience.² But this is a gratuitous assumption, since there is nothing in the inscription to show that Kolli Pallava Noḷamba advised his son Rājāditya to punish Citravāhana. If any supposition can be hazarded at all, it is the one we have ventured to give above concerning the attack on Mangalāpura by the Pāṇḍyan ruler Śaḍaiyan Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhira, and the failure on the part of the Ālupa king Citravāhana II to carry out the imperial orders at the bidding of the Banavase viceroy Rājāditya.³

1. *E. C. IV. Intr. p. 10.* But see *E. C. III. Intr. p. 3* where Rice makes Kolli Pallava Nolambārāditya himself !

2. *E. C. IV. ibid.*

3. We may mention here a copper plate grant found at Kadaba. It was issued from Mayūrakhandi and is dated Monday the 24th A.D. 812; and it refers to the grant made by the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Govinda III, at the request of a Ganga chief Cāgiraḥa to a Jaina sage Arakīrti, disciple of Vijayakīrti. The only point that may be noted so far as the history of Tuluva is concerned, is the fact that the above grant was found at Kadaba which was one of the four famous centres of Brahmanism in Tuluva, and which then must have formed a part of Tuluva. Now it is in the Tumkur district of the Mysore State. *I. A. XII. pp. 11, 13, XXIV. p. 9; E. I. IV. pp. 332-40; Kielhorn, List. No. 66, p. 11; Rangachari, Top. List. II. No. 300, p. 876.* There is also a place called Kaḍaba in the Puttūr tālukā, South Karṇāṭa. *B. A. S.*

8. THE ŚĀNTARAS AND TULUVA

The following *viragal* was found in Udayāvara: *svasti Sri S'āntararaāḷu Medumānan illi eridu vīdān* ¹. It merely relates that Medumānan, the *ālu* or servant (i.e., soldier) of Śāntara, having fought fell in Udayāvara. This hero memorial stone has to be explained from the point of view of Ālupa history.

The *viragal* in question cannot be dated to the end of the seventh century A.D., since it does not contain the earliest variant of the name Śāntara-*Cānta* ². But it has to be referred to about the ninth century A.D. when Jinadatta Rāya founded the Śāntara kingdom. The following arguments will make our point clear.—

With Jinadatta Rāya the Cāntas or the Śāntaras, who were of the Ugra-*vamśa*, worshippers of the goddess Padmāvati, boon lords of northern Madhura, appear for the first time in the Nagar tāluka with Pattu Pombuccha as their capital ³. Now, we know that till the end of eighth century A.D., that city was under the Ālupas. The fact that Jinadatta Rāya made it his capital suggests that he wrested it from the Ālupas somewhere in the ninth century A.D. ⁴. Not content with making Pattu Pombuccha their own, the Śāntaras made an attack on the capital of Ālvakheḍa itself—Udayāvara—thereby showing the vigour which characterized the Śāntaras and the utter helplessness of the Ālupas. This supposition of ours is proved by the

1. 108 of 1901, S. I. I. VII. No. 294, p. 146.

2-4. Rice, *Mys. & Coor.*, p. 138.

non-appearance of the name Patti Pombuccha—henceforth lost to the Ālupas—in the Ālupa records after the ninth century A.D. It is not surprising that Patti Pombuccha was lost to the Ālupas: the Tamil menace from the south, the Rāṣtrakūta trouble in the north, and the aggressive designs of Jinadatta Rāya from over the Ghats—all these explain the blank in the history of the Ālupas after Citravāhana II for about 120 years.¹

To this period of confusion (A. D. 800–A. D. 920) may be assigned another undated *vīragal* which was found in the Durgā temple at Hosaholalu near Bārakūru. It narrates the following.—*svasti S'ri-Bāraṇāralu (Tu) yyana (ta) mmanana kāḷagal (du) tta (kāram) nūnki sattam Ariya (cu)-(Ayeve) nḍana (va) ra maidunanga Āriya Cāvunḍa maidunangalu Mallana dutta-kāra kal-nattu vageyu.*² The *vīragal* informs us that in the fight with wicked people (*dutta kāram*), (Tu) yya's brother (Mallana ?) fell. The worthy (Āriya-Ārya) Ayceunḍa's brother-in-law the worthy Cāvunda erected the *vīragal*, and gave war-relief (*kal-nattu*) to the relatives of the deceased.³

1. The aggressive nature of the Śāntara attacks is seen in many records of the times. Thus, an inscription dated about A.D. 930 or earlier, relates that under Bira Nolamba of the Pallava-*kula*, "rising up against Śāntara", Baṭṭamarasa died fighting. *E. C. X. Sp. 64*, p. 281. The date given to Jinadatta Rāya—*circa* 8th century A.D.—by Rice (*E. C. VIII. p. 8*) has, therefore, to be abandoned. B. A. S.

2. 181 of 1901; *S. I. I. VII. No 388*, p. 245.

3. On *kal-nattu*, see *E. C. XII M1. 71*, p. 111. This is dated *circa* A.D. 920.

The following may be noted in regard to the above *vīragal*:—Bārakūru is called merely *S'ri-Bārakanūr* which is undoubtedly the oldest and the most correct rendering of the name, the variant Bārahakanyāpura being a later invention. The name Bārahakanyāpura, as we have already remarked, appears only in the reign of king Dattālpendra (A.D. 959). Hence this *vīragal* has to be assigned to an earlier age.

Evidence from the writings of Arab travellers and from epigraphs confirms our assertion that Bārakanūr was the earliest and the most trustworthy form of the name. Rashīd-ud-Dīn, who completed his work *Jamī-at-Tawārīk* in A. D. 1310, notices the following important ports of Tuluva:—"Of the cities of the shore the first is Sindabūr, then Fakanūr, then the country of Manjarūr..."¹ Although Rashīd-ud-Dīn wrote in the first quarter of the fourteenth century A. D., yet his book may be considered for all practical purposes, as a work which presents "a picture of the Mussulman knowledge of India at the end of the 10th century".² Rashīd-ud-Dīn's Fakanūr is a correct rendering of the Bārakanūr of the above *vīragal*. The testimony of this Arab traveller may be taken to prove that to the foreigners Bārakūru was always known by its real name Bārakanūr, and not by its later variant Bārahakanyāpura.

1. Elliot-Dawson, *History of India as told by her own Historians*, I. p. 68, *JRAS* for 1870, pp. 342-345.

2. Elliot-Dawson, *ibid*, p. 42.

Three inscriptions dated A. D. 1129, A. D. 1140, and a third one dated about A. D. 1141, to be cited in a later context in connection with the conquest of Tuluva by the great Hoysala king Visnuvardhana Deva, give uniformly the name of the city as Bārakanūr. This proves beyond doubt that in the first half of the twelfth century, and earlier perhaps, Bārakanūr was the popular name of the city.

The wicked people (*dutta-kāram*) have now to be identified. They were no other than the Śāntaras whose *ālu* had already caused some commotion, as narrated above.

In this connection we may note that one of the *biru-das* of Kundavarmarasa, as given in the inscription on the pedestal of the Lokeśvara image at Kadirikā dated A. D. 967, already cited in the earlier pages, is the following—*dattāṃ bhuvā (vam) nirākrtya balāt viśvāsa-ghāti-naṃ rājyam sva-bhu(ja)vīryena grhitaṃ yena māninaḥ*.¹ The treacherous enemy referred to in the above passage could have been only the Śāntaras, who may have taken shelter in the Ālupa kingdom under pretexts not known to us. Since they had caused trouble both in Udayāvara and Bārakūru, it is possible that the Ālupa ruler shifted his capital to Mangalūru which was far removed from the Śāntara attack.

If the above considerations are admitted, then, the *viragal* under review may be assigned to the middle of the ninth century A.D.

1. 27 B of 1901, op. cit.

The importance of the above two *viragals* and the Kadirikā record is, therefore, not only that one of them gives us the true name of a provincial capital of the Ālupas, but that they prove that in the ninth century A.D., the Śāntaras had extended their influence to Udayāvara, Bārakūru, and perhaps even to Mangalūru as well

The Śāntaras having thus proved dangerous, a remedy had to be discovered by which the Ālupas could put an end to their depredations. This they found in marriage alliances. The dynastic connection between the Ālupas and the Śāntaras is best seen in reference to the two Ālupa rulers Ranañjaya and Bankideva. From the genealogical list of the Śāntaras as given by Rice we take the following.—One of the Śāntara kings who created the Śāntaliḡe Thousand into a separate kingdom was Hiranyagarbha Vikrama Śāntara, *Kandukācārya*, *Dānavinoda*. He is placed after many sons who had ruled after Ranakeśin. Hiranyagarbha married Laksmī Devī, daughter of the Banavasi king Kāma Deva. Their son was Cāgi Śāntara who married the daughter of Āḷva Ranañjaya, called Eñjala Devī. Long after Cāgi Śāntara had ruled over the Śāntaliḡe Thousand, there came Ammana Deva who married Hōcala (Hoysala) Devī. By her he had two children—a daughter named Bīrabbarasi, and a son called Tailpa Deva. Bīrabbarasi was given in marriage to Banki Āḷva, Tailpa Deva married Banki Āḷva's younger sister called Mankabbarasi. Tailpa's second

queen was Kaleyabbarasī, daughter of the Ganga king Pāleya Deva. By her Tailapa Deva had three children—the eldest Bīra Deva, also called Bīruga and Vīra Śāntara, the second Śingī Deva, and the third named Barmma Deva. Bīruga Vīra Śāntara married three wives—the first named Bījāla Devī, daughter of the Nolamba Narasiṅga Deva, the second Acala (or Būcala) Devī, daughter of the king Ālva, and the third known as Vīra Mahādevī, younger sister of Cattala Devī, and daughter of Rakkasa Ganga.¹

We are concerned here with the identification of Ālva Ranañjaya, Banki Ālva, and the Ālva king whose daughter Acala (Būcala) Devī was given in marriage to Bīruga Vīra Śāntara (*Aḷvara magaḷ Acala Dēviyarū...*). The date of the last named Śāntara ruler may be settled thus—we have nine inscriptions of a Trailokyamalla Vīra Śāntara Deva ranging from A.D. 1060 to A.D. 1070.² He is to be identified with Bīruga Vīra Śāntara. His first two sons were called Bhujabala and Nannī. Now a Bhujabala occurs in a record dated A.D. 1066, and a Nannī in A.D. 1077.³ An inscription of about A.D. 1070 records the death of Vīra Śāntara.⁴ Another inscription mentions the father of Bhujabala with the titles Bīra Deva, king Bīruga.⁵

1. Rice, *E. C. VIII* Intr. p. 6. seq. See also Nr. 35, Tl 192, Sa 159, of A.D. 1077, 1103, and 1159 respectively, pp. 122-3, 133-138, 203.

2. *E. C. VII* Sk. 63, p. 54. See also *ibid* Sk. 46, Sk. 62, pp. 50, 53-4, *E. C. VIII*. Nr. 47, 48, 63, 70, 71, pp. 150-151, 155, 159.

3. *E. C. VIII*. Nr. 59, p. 154, Nr. 35, p. 133.

4. *Ibid*, VII. Sk. 62, p. 53.

5. *Ibid*, VIII. Nr. 38, p. 143.

One of the queens of Biruga Vīra Śāntara was Bijala Devī, the daughter of Nolamba Narasinga Deva. The latter is mentioned as ruling over Kadambalige Thousand in A.D. 1051, and over the Kogali Five Hundred together with the Kadambalige Thousand in A.D. 1054.¹ These records clearly prove that Narasinga Deva and Biruga Vīra Śāntara were contemporaries.

Birgua Vīra Śāntara's date may also be determined from the point of view of his third queen Vīra Mahādevī. She is called the younger sister of Caṭṭala Devī, daughter of Rakkasa Gaṅga. Here the epithet *daughter* should be understood as *grand daughter*. The Gaṅga king Śrīpurusa slew a Kāḍuvetti in battle in about A.D. 750, and Rakkasa Ganga's grand daughter Cattala Devī was married to a Kāḍuvetti in about A.D. 1050 when she obtained the title of *Kāḍava Mahādevī*.² The Caṭṭala Devī mentioned in the above grant could only have been the same Cattala Devī spoken of in the Śāntara genealogy. This again conclusively proves that the date assigned to Biruga Vīra Śāntara—A.D. 1060— is correct.

On the strength of the above deductions we may place queen Acala Devī's father Ālva ten years before

1. E. C. XI. Hk. 65, p. 123; Jl. 10, p. 85.

2. *Ibid.*, X. Intr. p. xxi, *ibid.*, VIII. Nr. 35, p. 133, seq. Rakkasa Ganga's date is A.D. 984. A record of his reign relates that Puliga ruled over the Nolambavāḍi Thirty-two Thousand, under Rakkasa Ganga, in *circa* A.D. 985. (E. C. X. Sp. 58, p. 280). This damaged record proves that the Nolambavāḍi was under Rakkasa Ganga. The enmity of the Śāntaras and the Nolambas may have been responsible for the dynastic alliance between the former and the Gangas who were the enemies of the Nolambas. Read Rice, *Myr. & Coorg.*, pp. 56, 57, 139. B A C

the first date of Biruga Vīra Śāntara, viz., in A.D. 1050. The Ālva was no other than Banki Ālva who married Bīrabbarasi, and who gave his younger sister Mankabbarasi in marriage to his own brother-in-law Tailapa Deva. According to our calculations, he could have been no other than Bankideva Ālupendradeva I. We may note here that Bīrabbarasi became the chief queen of Bankideva Ālupendradeva:— *ā Bīraladevī Bankiyāḷva-nge mahā-deviy-ādaḷ*.

A difficulty arises here if Ālva, the father of Acala Devī, was the same as Banki Ālva, the brother of Mankabbarasi, how can the marriage of Biruga Vīra Śāntara with the same Ālupa ruler's daughter be explained? Such marriages are permissible by what is known as *sōdarike*, viz., the marriage of one's own daughter with one's own nephew.

We may mention here one detail found in the Somēśvara temple inscription of Bankideva Ālupendradeva, cited already in the previous pages. This defaced and undated inscription contains the following:— “...*tyāga-da* kaṇiyum-āḡi Sāntaḷi sāyiramam eka c(ch)attra-cchāyayim rājyam-geyyuttam Konkaṇa-bhayankaram Malepa(kū)..”¹ What precisely is meant by *kaṇiyum-āḡi* and by the word Malepa, and how far the assertion that the Śāntalige Thousand was under the sole umbrella of Bankideva Ālupendradeva, we are unable to say.² But it is probable that the Ālupas under Bankideva Ālupendradeva

1. 136 of 1901; S. I. I. VII. No. 327, p. 178.

2. *Supra* Ch. III. Sec. 5.

were becoming powerful not only to ward off the aggressive designs of the Colas,, but also to cast over the Śāntalige Thousand their sway for some time. Indeed, the *birudas* of Bankideva Ālupendradeva given in an earlier connection, strengthen the belief that that ruler had ushered in a new era in the history of the Ālupas. The Śāntara-Ālupa alliance was meant perhaps to guard the interests of both against the Hoysalas, who had by this time assumed the *role* of imperialists. Only in this way can we explain the word Malepa occurring in the above inscription.

The date of Bankideva Ālupendradeva and of his contemporaries Biruga Vīra Śāntara and Narasinga Deva being thus settled, we may now proceed to work backwards in order to reach the date of Ālva Ranañjaya whose daughter Eñjala Devī was given in marriage to Cāgi Śāntara (*ātangam Ālvara [Ra] nañjayana maḡul Eñjala Deviyaram*). Between Cāgi Śāntara and Biruga Vīra Śāntara we have seven Śāntara rulers. If we assign twenty years to every one of them, we reach A. D. 920 for Cāgi Śāntara, and, therefore, for Ālva Ranañjaya ¹

1 This date may be verified by examining the date of Adiyūr Śāntivarmā, the father of Jakkala Devī who was given in marriage to Vīra Śāntara, the son of Cāgi Śāntara. If we identify the Śāntivarmā mentioned above with the Śāntivarmā spoken of in connection with the brave deeds of one of his subjects, then, Vīra Śāntara may be placed in *circa* A D 940. Śāntivarmā would then have to be placed in A D. 940 and not in A D 991, as done by Rice, *My & Coorg* p. 186.

We do not know whether the event mentioned in the following undated inscription has to be referred to the times of Ālva Ranañjaya.

After the dynastic alliance with the Śāntaras, the name Pāṇḍya appears more frequently among Ālupa names. We have seen that Prthvīśāgara (A.D. 730-750) had the name *Uttama Pāṇḍya*. How the Ālupa rulers from Prthvīśāgara onwards came to append the surname Pāṇḍya is a detail which cannot be satisfactorily explained for the present. It cannot be that the Ālupas borrowed that name either from Śāntaras who do not figure at all in the eighth century in the neighbourhood of Tuluva, or from the Pāṇḍyas of Madura, who had no direct dealings with the Ālupa rulers in that age.

The most substantial gain which the Ālupas received from the dynastic connection mentioned above was the friendship of the Śāntara rulers who now appear more frequently on the scene in Tuluva. We shall restrict ourselves to three stone inscriptions which enable us to assert that the Śāntaras had planted firmly their feet on Tuluva soil. The first of these records was found in the Pañcaliṅgeśvara temple at Kōtakēri in Bārakūru. We give the inscription in full since it has to be located in Ālupa history.

This record narrates that when Satyavākya Kongunivarmā Dharma Mahārāja, boon lord of Kuvalālapura, lord of Nandagiri, śrīmat Permmānadi was ruling, (he) gave the *kalanāḍ* of Belgali to Kankayya for piercing Bāva, the *nāl-prabhu* of Ālvanāḍ who had attacked the Ganga seat (*āsara*). (E C V. Ag 35, p. 251) The inscription is undated, but Rice has assigned it to about A.D. 930. It cannot be made out whether the Ālvanāḍ refers to Ālvakheda Six Thousand, or to the territories of the other minor families whose name also ended in Ālva. Neither is more information forthcoming about the person called Bāva who attacked the Ganga seat. B. A. S.

It opens with figure of a *cakra* and with *svasti*, and proceeds to narrate the title of the chieftain thus:—
samadhigata pañca-mahāśabda mahāmaṇḍaleśvaram-Uttara-
Madhura-adhiśvaram Patti-Pombuccha-puravar-adhiśvaram
mahā-ugra-vamśa-lalāmam Padumāvati-Deviya lu(a)bdhavarā-
prāsāda-sādhitam vipulā-tulā-puruṣa-hiranya-dāni-dāna Vāna-
ra-dhvaṃjamam mrga-rāja-lāñcchanam Keśava-(yira)ritya sa-
kaḷa-jana-śtutya nīti-śāstra-ni(ratarum) Kanduka-ācārya-mandā
radharyanum (śrīmū)rtti-Nārāyaṇa Kīrti-pārāyaṇam śrīmatu
Viśvanātha-dēvara-dībya śrī-pāda-padma-āradhyakarum para-
baḷasādhakarum-appa Pailana-baḷiya Vīra Jagadevarasarū
śrīmatu Pattamahādeviyarum Pāṇḍya-devarasarum sthira-si-
mhasanadīm sukha-sankathā-vinodadīm rājyam geyuttam-irdda
kāladallī Bārahaknyūpurada haravariya nāgira hañjamāna-vo-
lagadōl-irdda-ā sannidhānadalu Kabūra-haravariyoḷage śrīmatu
Mārkanḍeśvara dēvara vāmabhāgada Mahādevaṛige navēdya-
kke eradu kotta bhūmī hullu...kuva gadde nālgandugedalu bitti-
*uva bede-geṇalu mūḍe 90...*¹

The Government Epigraphist (Mr. Venkoba Rao) wrote the following in connection with the above record:—“A certain Pāṇḍyadevarasa has been mentioned as a joint ruler with Jagadevarasa; but we cannot say who these chiefs were.”²

Our concern lies in identifying the Vīra Jagadevarasa mentioned in the above inscription together with the queen and the ruler Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva, and in fixing the inscription in Ālupa history. We shall first begin

1. 175 of 1901; S. I. I. VII. No. 380, pp. 235-6.

2. Ep. Rept for 1926-7, pp. 108-9

with the *birudas* given to the chieftain Vīra Jagadevarasa. He has a string of *birudas* of which we select the most representative ones: *samadhigata pañca-mahā-śabda mahāmandaleśvaram, Uttara-Madhurādhiśvarum, Pattī-Pombuccha-puravar-adhiśvarum, Mahā-Ugra-vamśa-lalāmam Padumavāti-dēviya-labdha-vara-prāsāda-sādhitam. ... Vānara dhvajamam, mrga-rāja-lāñcchnamam.. para-bala sādhhakarum* These were essentially Śāntara titles.¹

Now, we have many Jagadevas in Karnāṭaka history. Of these we identify the Vīra Jagadevarasa mentioned in the above Kōtekēri record with the Jagadeva spoken of in an inscription dated A.D. 1104 as having attacked Dorasamudra, and as having been driven off by Ballāḷa Rāya I and by his brother Bittiga Deva in the same year.² He is the same Jagadeva who is described as one of the feudatories of the Western Cālukya monarch Jagadekamalla II. He appears in A.D. 1149-50 as governing from Setu which Rice has located in Kanara (i.e., Tuluva). Obviously after the disaster which he suffered at Dorasamudra in A.D. 1104 when his attack on the Hoysala capital had failed, and his treasury together with the central ornament of his necklace had fallen into the Hoysala hands, he had moved down to Tuluva where he secured the alliance of the Ālupa ruler Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra and established a principality at Setu.³

1. Cf. The Śāntara titles in E. C. VIII. Nr. 35, p. 133 Seq. Mys. & Coorg. pp. 138, 140

2-3. Rice, Mys. & Coorg. pp. 99, 140 Fleet makes him ruler of Pattī Pombucchapura. Dyn. Kan. Dis. p. 53. (n), 66. For other

It may be noted that in the above inscription from Kōtekēri Vīra Jagadevarasa, who had secured (completely) the right to use the five great instruments (*pañca-mahā-śabda*), who was a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, chief lord of northern Madhura, boon lord of Paṭṭi Pombucchapura, ornament of the great Ugra-*vamśa*, one who had by the boon obtained from the goddess Padmāvati having completed the *tulā-puruṣa*, *mahā-dāna*, and *huranyagarbha* gifts, one who had the monkey-flag and the lion crest, *Kaśavayarita* (?), Kaṇḍukācārya, Mandāra in firmness, in fame Nārāyana, one whose praise was resounded, worshipper at the lotus feet of Viśvanātha, subduer of foreign enemies, and one who belonged to the *Pailana-bāli* (?), was not ruling from Bārahakanyāpura. On the other hand, it is distinctly said that Patta Mahādevī and Pāndya Devarasa were seated on the firm throne at Bārahakanyāpura, ruling the kingdom of the world listening to the pleasant stories relating to morality and *dharma*.

The Pāndya Deva mentioned in the above inscription was no other than the Pāndya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva who reigned from A. D. 1113 to A. D. 1155, and two of whose inscriptions were found in the Pañcalingeśvara temple at Kōtekēri in Bārahakuru. One of these records also mentions the *mūla-sthāna* of the god Mārkaṇḍeśvara of the same locality. And the Patta Mahādevī (crowned queen) spoken of in the above

Jagadevas in A. D. 1095, 1160, 1175, 1180, 1189 and 1216, see E. C. VIII. Sa. 66, 87, 91-93, 95, 125, 131, pp. 104-118 B. A. S.

inscription of Vīra Jagadevarasa was the same Pāṇḍya Mahādevī mentioned in the same inscription, where she is distinctly said to be governing Pannirpallī-
*ā ūran-āḷva Pāṇḍya Mahā-dēviyar.*¹

The Kōtekēri inscription under review is, therefore, important, from three points of view:—Firstly, it proves beyond doubt that Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhuja-bala Kavi Ālupendra's crowned queen was a Śāntara princess with the cognomen of Pāṇḍya. Here we have another link in the Śāntara-Ālupa alliance.

Secondly, it introduces a Śāntara figure whose exact relationship with the Śāntara princess cannot be determined. That he was indeed a chieftain who had pretensions to a territorial rule, and that he gave a grant of land to the god Mahādeva in Bārakūru, there cannot be any doubt.

Thirdly, the evidence of the above inscription demolishes the assertion of Rice that "The extension of the (Śāntara) kingdom below the Ghats probably took place in the fifteenth century when the kings had the title (Mg. 42) *arī-rāya-ḷandara-dāvani* (cattle-rope to the champion over kings)"². The appearance of the Śāntaras in Tuḷuva below the Ghats may be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century A. D. In fact, as will be presently shown, by the first half of the fourteenth century A. D., the Śāntaras had secured an unassailable position in Tuḷuva. We may note here,

1. 171 of 1901 ; S. I I. VII. No. 376, pp. 231-232, 11. 16-17.

2. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.* p. 140.

however, that the *biruda ari-rāya-gaṇḍara-dāvani*, which Rice supposes was used by the Śāntaras in the fifteenth century, was similar to the title assumed by Kāltide, son of Viṣṇa Nāyga, during the troublesome times of the Ālupa king Ranasāgara. The Śambhukallu inscription which supplies us with the details already narrated in the preceding pages, while relating the political history of the Ālupas, gives Kāltide, among other *birudas*, the following one—That he was one who applied a cattle rope to the array (of his enemies)—*vikraman aniyu dāvanam-oḍḍuvōn*.¹

For reasons to be stated in a later context in connection with the Ālupas and the Hoysalas, the epigraph of Vīra Jagadevarasa may be assigned to the year A. D. 1114 when the Āḷvakheda Six Thousand people committed havoc in the territory of the Hoysals necessitating the extension of the Hoysala arms into Tuluva. This would mean that the visit of Vīra Jagadevarasa took place a year after the accession of Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva, i. e., in A. D. 1114.

The appearance of Vīra Jagadevarasa, the Śāntara chieftain, in Bārakūru on the occasion when Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva and his crowned queen were seated in public audience in Bārakūru (*Bārakanyāpurada haravariya nagira haṇjamāna vaḍḍōlagadōḷ-irdda-ā sannidhānadalu*), was not accidental. If our identification of Vīra Jagadevarasa of the Kōṭekēri inscription with Jagadeva who raided Dorasamudra is correct, then,

1. 94 of 1901; E. I, IX. pp. 17-18, op. cit.

his presence in Bārakūru is easily explained. This was the age when the Hoysalas had swept over the Karnāṭa-ka. We shall explain how they proved a great danger to the Ālupas. It was to protect the Tulu country against the aggressive designs of the Hoysalas that Pāṇḍya Ca-kravartin not only cemented the Ālupa-Śānatara alliance by marrying a Śāntara princess, but also by witnessing a grant of land to the god Mahādeva in Bārakūru by the Śāntara chief Jagadeva. Indeed, it is not improbable that the Ālupas had helped the Śāntaras in founding a principality on this side of the Ghats within the limits of Ālvakheḍa Six Thousand as a barrier between themselves and the imperial Hoysalas.¹

Political necessity, therefore, was one of the causes which brought about the Śāntara-Ālupa alliance. Outside this there does not seem to have been anything common between Ālupas who claimed a Lunar descent and the Śāntaras who belonged to the Ugra-*vaṃśa*. Nevertheless the dynastic relationship between the two houses may have been responsible for the firm hold which the Śāntaras had in Tuḷuva. When we come to the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., we see the Śāntaras well established in the eastern part of Tuḷuva. We gather this from the stone inscription in

1. The exact relationship between Vīra Jagadevarasa and the Śāntara queen of the Ālupa ruler cannot be determined from the epigraph. Perhaps he was her father. But this is only a supposition which is based on the order in which the three names appear in the inscription; first that of Vīra Jagadevarasa, then that of the queen, and lastly that of the Ālupa ruler. B. A. S.

the Gurugaḷa *basti* at Hīriyangadi near Kārkala in Tuluva. This is a Jaina inscription which begins with the usual Jaina invocation and gives the following *birudas* to the ruler Lokanātha Devarasa —

Samasta-bhuvanāśrayam S'rī-prthivīvallabham mahārājā-dhirājam rāja paramēśvaram paramabhattārakam śamadhigata-pañca-mahāmaṇḍaleśvaram Mattara (Uttara ?) Madhurādhiśvaram Patti Pombuccha-puravar-adhiśvaram mahā-Ugravamśa-lalāmam Padmāvati-dēvi-labdha-vara prāsāda-āsādita vipulā-tulā-purusanam Parīśva(Pārśva)-dēvara-dibya-śrī-pāda padma-ārādhakanum-appa śrīmatu-rāya-rāja-guru-maṇḍala-ācāryarum rāya-jīvaraksapāḷarum Ballāḷa-rāya-citta camatkārarum mantravādi-makara-dhvajarum-appa śrīmatu Cārukīrti paṇḍita-dēvara dibya śrī-pāda-padma-ārādhakanum-appa para-baḷa-jagad-dala śrīman mahāmaṇḍaleśvara śrī Lokanātha-devarasaru prthvī-rājyam-geyyuttam-iralu The phrase *prthvī-rājyam-geyyuttam-iralu* used in regard to the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Lokanātha Devarasa suggests that he was ruling perhaps in an independent capacity. This supposition is strengthened by the absence of the name of the suzerain in the epigraph.

The inscription is dated *S'aka-varṣa 1256 neya Bāhva samvacc(t)sarada Phālguna S'uddha pañcamī Buddha vārada-ndu* which corresponds to A D. 1335 February Tuesday the 28th, the week day not corresponding.¹

The epigraph records a gift of land to the Śāntināthadeva *basti* in Kārekaḷa (Kārkaḷa) built by Kumu-

1, Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem*, IV, p. 272. Here the Nīja Phālguna has been taken into consideration. B A S

dacandra Bhattāraka Deva, chief disciple of Bhānukīrti Maladhārī Deva, by Vasa Siddala Devī, the crowned queen (*pattada rānī*) of Śrīmatu Bommi Devarasa, and by the elder sisters of Lokanātha Devarasa, by name Bommala Devī and Somala Devī, in the presence of Allappa Adhikārī, and all the important citizens of the locality. The gift of land (specified in detail) was made on the birthday of Lokanātha Devarasa (*S'rī-Lokanātha-dēvarasara vaddāntiya dinadalu.*)¹

From the above the following genealogical descent of the ruler Lokanātha may be gathered —

Bommi Deva = Vasa Siddala Devī

Bommala Devī Somala Devī Lokanātharasa

It cannot be made out in what manner Lokanātharasa was connected with Vīra Jagadevarasa mentioned above. But that they belonged to the same Śāntara stock there cannot be any doubt. The following difference, however, may be noted in their *birudas*:—

Firstly, Vīra Jagadevarasa calls himself merely one who was entitled to the use of the *pañca-mahā-śabda* and a *mahāmandaleśvara*. But Lokanātharasa styles himself *samastabhuvanāśraya*, *śrī-prthvīvallabha*, *mahārājādhirāja*, *rājaparamēśvara*, and *mahāmandaleśvara*. Hence, Lokanātharasa evidently enjoyed greater independence than Vīra Jagadevarasa.

And, secondly, both call themselves lords of northern Madhura, boon lords of Paṭṭi Pombucchapura,

1. 77 of 1901 ; S. I. I. VII. No. 247, pp. 124-5.

crest-jewels born in the Ugra-*vaṃśa*, and those who performed many gifts of gold. But whereas Vīra Jagadevarasa was the disciple of Viśvanātha Deva, and of the *Pailana-bali* (?), Lokanāthrasa was the disciple of Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Deva one of whose titles was *Ballāḷa-rāya-citta-camatkāra* (*One who charmed the mind of Ballāḷa Rāya*).

Once again we may be permitted to reiterate the similarity between the titles assumed by Lokanātharasa and the Ālupa king Kulaśekharadeva III.¹ The suggestion that the Śāntara ruler was in some manner dynastically connected with the Ālupa king is irresistible.

In neither of the two records—the one hailing from Kōtekēri and the other from Hiriyangaḍi—is the capital of the Śāntaras distinctly mentioned. Kārkala may have been the capital under Lokanātharasa. But the earliest appearance of a Śāntara capital is met with only in the first quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. The stone inscription which gives us this and other details was found in Koraga at Marane in the Kārkaḷa tāluka. It is dated Śaka 1331 Sarvadhāvi Puṣya Śu. 10, Thursday which corresponds to A.D. 1408, December the 27th Thursday.² The record was issued when Vīra Bhairava Ksamāpāla and his son Pāṇḍya Bhūpāla were ruling from the capital Kervāṣe. Evidently Pāṇḍya Bhūpāla was associated with his father as a *yuva-rāja*.

1 *Supra*, Ch. II. Sec. 7.

2 530 of 1928-9, *Ep. Rept.* for 1928-9, pp. 59, 10. According to Swamikannu's Tables, Śu. 10 corresponds to December Friday the 28th, the week day not corresponding. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, V. p. 19.

That the rulers were of the Śāntara family is proved by the *birudas* assumed by the king Vīra Bhairava Ksamāpāla—*lord of northern Madhura, boon lord of Pattu Pombucchapura, worshipper of the goddess Padmāvati, one who had the banner of the monkey god and the insignia of a lion, one who belonged to the Ugra-vamśa and to the family of Jinadatta.*

The Koraga inscription records a grant of land issued from the capital Kervāse by king Vīra Bhairava Ksamāpāla, at the instance of Vasanta Kīrti Rāula of the Balātkāragana, for offerings to the image of Pārśvanātha and for feeding ṛṣis in the *baṣṭi* at Bārakūru built by the king at Coliyakēri in that city. The Madras Government Epigraphist (Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer) has identified the Pāṇḍya Bhūpāla of the above inscription with the Vīra Pāṇḍya who built the famous Gomata statue at Kārkala in A.D. 1432.¹

A passing note may be made of the later Śāntara kings of Tuluva. One of them was Abhinava Pāṇḍya Deva Oḍeya of the family of Jinadatta mentioned in a

1. *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 80. The reference is given to 63 of 1901. Two objections to the above identification are the following — In the Marane record Pāṇḍya Bhūpāla's father Vīra Bhairava Ksamāpāla is mentioned as a ruler of the *Ugra-vamśa*. In the Gomata statue record (63 of 1901) dated A.D. 1432 February the 13th, Vīra Pāṇḍya's father Bhairava is said to have belonged to the Lunar race. Further, the preceptor of Vīra Bhairava Ksamāpāla was Vasantakīrti Rāula of the Balātkāragana; whereas the preceptor of Bhairava of the Gomata statue record was Lalitakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka of Panasoge of the Deśiyagaṇa. (63 of 1901; *E. I.* VII, p. 109; *I. A.* XXIX, p. 119, seq.) B. A. S.

stone record dated Śaka 1378 (A.D. 1556-7), found in Hiriyaṅgaḍi in Kārkala.¹

The continual recurrence of the name Pāṇḍya in the Ālupa and other records must have led the reader to enquire whether the Ālupas, the Śāntaras, and the Ucchangī Pāṇḍyas had anything to do with the Pāṇḍyas of Madura. The Madras Government Epigraphist (Mr. Venkoba Rao) after noting the similarity between the Lunar race of the Ālupas and that of the Ucchangī Pāṇḍyas, remarks that the latter "also had family traditions similar to those of the Pāṇḍyas proper". Then, commenting on the *biruda* of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1083-1124)—*Irukkavēla*—, he opines that that title was also the name borne by members of the ancient family of "Koḍambālūr chiefs figuring in the Śaṅgham works, who had their headquarters at Koḍambālūr (Koḍambai) in the Puḍukkōṭṭai State", and who also belonged to the Yādava clan. Mr Venkoba Rao's conclusion is the following — "A consideration of all these facts (given above) leads to the conclusion that the Ucchangī Pāṇḍyas had some sort of connexion with the Koḍambālūr Yādava chiefs, but we have no data to definitely posit if this consanguinity dated only from the time of the victories at Mangalore, Vātāpi and Adhiraḷamangala noted above, or whether the Ucchangī Pāṇḍyas, and also the Ālupas, belonged to one of the eighteen Yādava clans who are believed to have migrated from the north in the Puranic age under

1. 70 of 1901; *Ep. Rept.* for 1926-7, pp. 108-9.

the leadership of the pioneer coloniser, sage Agastya (*Vēḷir-varaḷāru*, p. 8), and to have settled all along the west coast down to the southern corner of the Travancore State, where the Āy chiefs of Āykkuḍi of the 9th century A.D., Kōkkarunandadakkan and Vikramāditya Varaguna, claim to belong to the Vrishnikula (*Travancore Arch. Series I*, p. 191)."¹

To state that the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas "had some sort of connexion with Koḍambālur Yādava chiefs", and to draw the inference that these and the Āy chiefs of Āykkuḍi were of one stock because the Karnāṭaka rulers had intimate dealings with the Pallavas, is to mistake fact for fiction and to postulate conclusions that have no basis in history.

To start with, we may observe on what sure ground the lineage of the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas and that of the Madura Pāṇḍyas together that of the Koḍambālur chiefs and of the Pallavas, may be said to rest. The Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas called themselves originally *Lords of Gokarṇapura*, and *Protectors of Konkanarāstra* and later on as *Lords of Kañcīpura*. They had the fish crest, and one of them had the title of *Irukkavēla*.² But this is of no avail in tracing a common descent between the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas and the Tamil rulers. For the Tamil titles as well as the Tamil emblem were assumed by the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas after inflicting a crushing defeat on the Tamil kings and generals. The *biruda* of *Lord of Kañcīpura* was adopted by the Pāṇḍyas

1. *Ep. Rep. for 1926-7*, p. 108. 2. *Rice, Mys. & Coorg.*, pp 149-50.

in consequence of their having defeated the Colas.¹ In like manner we may assume that the title of *Irukkaṇḍa* was perhaps borne by Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya after defeating a Koḍambālūr chief. As to the typically Madura Pāṇḍya emblem of the fish crest, we shall not be wrong in supposing that that *biruda* was borne by the same Ucchangī Pāṇḍya feudatory after winning a victory over the Madura Pāṇḍyas. He is credited with the conquest of many countries among which Drāvila and Andhra appear in A.D. 1128.²

That the Ucchangī Pāṇḍyas assumed the name of the ruler whom they subdued and showed particular favour to the subjugated territory, is further proved by the name *Cedi Rāja* borne by the Ucchangī ruler Pāṇḍya, son of Mangaya or Āḍitya Deva, who had subdued the Kalacuriya king of Cedi or Bundelkhand. The same Pāṇḍya ruler is stated in one inscription to have been "permanently partial to the Pāṇḍya country", thereby suggesting that he probably made common cause with them for purely political reasons. In fact, the statement in the inscriptions that the blows of the bracelets of Āḍitya Deva's son Pāṇḍya resounded on the conch shell on the top of Purandhara's head, and that he set up his fish crest on the great rocks

1. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, pp. 149-150. Cf. the Hoysala Vinayāditya inscribing the word *Rakkasa Hoysala* on his flag after defeating the Gangas. *E. C. VI. Mg.* 13, p. 61. This refers to a victory, and not, as Rice supposes, to "connection with the Ganga King Rakkas." *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 98.

2. *E. C. XI. Dg.* 90, p. 68. See also *Dc.* 3, p. 24.

on the chief mountains are to be understood in the sense that they describe his military achievements and nothing more ¹

As regards the alleged Yādava descent common to the Ucchangī Pāṇdyas and Kodambālūr chiefs, it may be noted that no tangible conclusion can be drawn from it. Diverse feudatory families with nothing common between them styled themselves as having belonged to the Lunar race. Thus, for instance, both the Ucchangī Pāṇdyas and Hoysalas claimed to be of the Yādava-*vaṁśa*. But it is wrong to infer that they had a common origin. The Yādava claims of all or most of the ruling families of southern and western India, especially of the mediaeval times, are wholly inadmissible. We have shown from the history of the Ālupas themselves that they were perhaps of the Nāga origin. The suggestion that the Ālupas and Ucchaṅgī Pāṇdyas belonged to one of the eighteen Yādava clans, who are supposed to have been introduced by the sage Agastya, is entirely gratuitous. Had the Ālupas the least pretensions to the Yādava descent or had they been connected in some way with the sage Agastya, we would have had that fact mentioned in any one of the Ālupa records, or in those of the Karnāṭaka monarchs who had intimate relations with the Ālupas. But the inscriptions of neither the Ālupas nor Karnāṭaka rulers contain any hint in regard to Agastya and the Yādava descent of the Ālupas.

1. Read, *Mys. & Coorg*. pp. 149-150, *E. C.* VII. Intr. p. 26; *E. C.* XI. Intr. pp. 16-18.

Mr. Venkoba Rao postulates certain theories in the same *Report for 1927*, concerning the name Pāṇḍya among the Ālupas. "On the analogy of a time honoured convention which existed in those days, namely, that a feudatory generally added the name of his suzerain to his personal name, in token of his subordinate status, we have to assume that either the Ālupa chieftains of the locality began to use Pāṇḍya surnames as expressive of their vassalage to them, or that the introduction, if new, of Pāṇḍya names was the result of some possible marriage relationship between the Ālupas and the Pāṇḍyas at this period. This will have to be confirmed only by future finds." The writer then connects the name Uttama Pāṇḍya met with in the Ālupa records with Melai-Kodumalūr in the Rāmnād district which was rechristened Uttama-Pāṇḍya-nallūr "from some Uttama Pāṇḍya". He then proceeds directly to deal with the temple of the god Pāṇḍyeśvara found in a suburb of Mangalore¹.

The tradition of appending the surname of a suzerain by a feudatory was well known both to the Karnāṭaka and Tamiḷ peoples. But to assert that the Ālupas took the name from some Pāṇḍyas (of Madura?) is erroneous. Expecting a few notices of the Pāṇḍyas of Madura as related above, and a few more to be given in the next chapter, there is nothing to suggest that the Ālupas were subservient to the Madura Pāṇḍyas in any period of their history. We meet with the name Uttama

1. *Ep. Rept. for 1926-27*, pp. 107-108.

Pāṇḍya for the first time only in connection with Prthvīsāgara who bore that surname as well as the name *Vijayāditya*. There is no evidence to prove that that Ālupa ruler was in any way connected with the Madura Pāṇḍyas. It is futile, therefore, to trace the Ālupa surname Uttama Pāṇḍya either to the Pāṇḍyas of Madura or to the name Melai-Kodumalūr *alias* Uttama-Pāṇḍya-nallūr. We have seen that it was with Prthvīsāgara that the tradition began of associating the Ālupas with the Yadu-*vamśa*. Udayāvara passed through a critical period when Prthvīsāgara became king. It is no wonder that he assumed the surname *Vijayāditya* and *Uttama Pāṇḍya*, and thereby connected himself with the Pāṇḍyas of the epics to whom his adherents must have traced his descent. Indeed, there seems to have been a strong tendency among the Ālupa rulers to style themselves after the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. This accounts for the name Śvetavāhana, Vijaya(āditya), and Dhanañjaya among the Ālupas.¹ Only in this manner can we explain the name Pāṇḍya appearing in the Ālupa records.

9. THE KADAMBAS AND THE ĀLUPAS

Territorial contiguity and political status were perhaps responsible for the close association of the Ālupas with the Kadambas since earliest times. Tradition, as we shall narrate in the next chapter, connects Mayūravarmā, the first great historical figure in

1. 527 of 1928-9; *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 80.

Kadamba history, with Tuḷuva. Historically speaking, however, the Halmiḍi stone inscription (Belūr tāluka, Hassan district, Mysore State), discovered in 1935 by Mr. B. Rama Rao of the Mysore Archaeological Department, carries not only the Ālupa genealogy one step further than Māramma Āḷvarasar, but enables us to assert that Tuḷuvanāḍu and the Kadambamandala began to have intimate relationship from about the fifth century A.D.¹.

The Halmiḍi stone inscription is being edited by Dr. Krishna of Mysore in the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department*. A transcript of the record being unfortunately not available, we shall have to be content with the paper which Mr. Rama Rao read at the *Eighth All-India Oriental Conference* in December 1935. The epigraph in question is of first-rate importance from the point of view of the Ālupa history as well as from that of the Kannada language. It is in old Kannaḍa excepting the invocatory verse which is in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit verse is in praise of Visnu. The characters of the record, according to its discoverer Mr. Rama Rao, belong to the fifth century A.D. This assumption in regard to the date of the inscription is further borne out by the reference to Mrgeśa, the Kadamba king, Paśupati, a prince or

1. The assertions of Mr. Moraes that Kadambamandala or Vanavāsīmandala was ruled over by the Ālupas throughout the period of the Cālukya predominance, and that under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas too it continued to be governed by the Ālupas for well nigh half a century till about the year A.D. 800 (*Kadamba-Kula*, p. 81) are incorrect. B.A.S.

general, and the Bhatārī-*kula* which names have been mentioned in stone inscriptions assigned to *circa* A.D. 450 and found in the Prāṇeśvara temple at Tālgunda.¹

The Halmiḍi stone inscription records a battle in which the Sendrakas, the Bānas, and the Pallavas took part, and registers a gift of two villages named Palmiḍi (mod. Halmiḍi) and Mūlīvalli (mod. Malēnahalli) as *bālgalcu* (war-relief) to Viḍa-arasa by a Kadamba chief of the Bhatārī-*kula*. In this connection the name Āluva (ka ?) appears as one of the allies on the side of the Kadamba chief².

We may incidently note here that the village Palmidi mentioned in this record was no other than the same Palmidi said to have been in the Sendraka-*visaya*, which was given as a gift to Bhavasvāmī by the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarmā, as is related in the Bennūr plates assigned on palaeographical grounds to A.D. 420.³ Under what conditions this village of Palmidi was transferred from the possession of Bhavasvāmī to that of Viḍa-arasar is not known. But the Bennūr plates confirm the historicity of the village of Palmidi and its importance in the Kadamba times.

1. *My. Archl. Rept for 1911*, p. 35.

2. I regret very much that beyond this I am unable to comment on the Halmiḍi record. A short account of this fine discovery appears in the *Summaries of the Papers* read at the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, pp. 99-100. But a cursory examination of the characters of the inscription which Mr. Rama Rao so kindly gave me for perusal in Mysore at the Conference convinced me that his opinion in regard to the age of the characters was quite valid. B. A. S.

3. *E. C. V. Bl.* 245, p. 276.

The Halmiḍi record is doubly important. Firstly, it establishes beyond doubt the antiquity of the Kannaḍa language. And, secondly, it carries the Ālupa name to the fifth century A.D. The plain name Āluva given in this important Kadamba record obviously has to be referred to a ruler who preceded Māramma Ālvarasar whom we have assigned to about A.D. 575. The Ālupa ruler mentioned in the Halmiḍi inscription could not have been the later Āluvarasar who, according to our calculations, succeeds Māramma Ālvarasar. The exact identity of the Āluva king of the Halmiḍi record cannot be determined at the present stage of our investigations.

A stone inscription found in the Mahālingeśvara temple in the Bantra village, Puttūru tāluka, is of particular interest inasmuch as it not only shows that a part of Tuluva, probably that adjoining the slopes of the Western Ghats, was under the Kadambas but also gives us the name of an altogether new figure in the history of the Kadambas. The characters of this stone record are assigned to the eighth century A.D. The ruler named is Nṛpamallarāja, while the Katamba (Kadamba) king called Rācamallan-Dugarāja, brother of Viḷārittaliyarasa and of Narasiṅgan-Dugarāja, is also referred to in the same epigraph. The inscription probably registers an agreement pertaining to the enjoyment of lands.¹

1. 351 of 1930-31, *Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle for 1930-31*, p. 49.

The name Nrpamallarāja is most unlike any Ālupa name we have met with hitherto. Whether this ruler is to be fixed in the gap after A.D. 800 and before A.D. 920 is doubtful for the present. Likewise is it not possible to decide in what manner he was connected with the Ālupa house. As regards the other names, Rācmallan-Dugarāja, Vīlārīttaliyarasa and Narasingan-Dugarāja, we may observe the following:— The fact that the first one is called a Katamba shows that they belonged to the Kadamba family, and the fact that the stone inscription was found within the limits of Tuluva indicates that the Kadambas about this time had some relations with Tuluva, the exact nature of which cannot be determined for the present. The names Rācmallan-Dugarāja, and Narasingan, it may also be noted, are met with in the history of the Gangas of the main line.¹ But we must leave this question here for want of more data, noting however that Rācmallan-Dugarāja does not figure in any known Kadamba record discovered hitherto.

1. There were three Rācmallas in the history of the Gangas:— Rācmalla I, son of Nītimārga who seems to have come to the throne in A.D. 870. *E. C. I. Coorg*, No. 2, *My. Arch. Rep. for 1930*, p. 145. Nītimārga himself was the son of Rācmalla I whose dates are not known. Rācmalla III was also called Narasinga Rācamalla. *E. C. VIII*, Nr. 35, p. 135; *Rice, Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 50. The name Dugarāja recalls the Ganga name Dugamāra, whose other name was Ereyapa. This Ganga ruler was king over Kolāla and the adjoining nāḍa in the Gangavāḍi in A.D. 767 *E. C. X. Intr.* p. xi. He was the third son of Śrīpurusa. *E. C. X. Intr.* p. viii, *Mys. & Coorg.*, pp. 39, 55; *My. Arch. Rept. for 1929*, p. 103-104. In later Ganga history we have Narasimha, brother of Ereva. *E. C. VIII. Intr.* p. vi. B. A. S.

When we come to the later half of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., we find the Kadamba rulers, who were in some manner allied to those of the earlier stock of Banavase, engaged in bringing Tuluva within their sphere. The founder of this line of the Kadambas of later times was Barma Deva, whose son was Boppa Deva. The son of the latter was Soyī Deva one of whose generals was Vikramāditya. The defaced inscription dated Śaka 1099 Jyestha Śu. Daśamī Ādivāra (=A.D. 1177 May the 9th Monday the week day not corresponding), which contains these details informs us that general Vikramāditya was placed over the Banavasenāḍ and that the kings of Hayve, Koṅkana, the celebrated Gaṅgavāḍi, and Tulu gave tribute to him.¹

How far general Vikramāditya's claims to have levied tribute from Tuluva were valid, and whether the reference is to the Ālupa king or to the Śāntara chiefs who may have had their principality on the outskirts of Tuluva, as mentioned above, it is not possible

1. Rice assigns this record to A.D. 1237 which is altogether inadmissible. For the date is clearly given in the original. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 384, p. 68; Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* IV, p. 356. On Soyī Deva read Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, Mr. Moraes makes Barmarasa and his grandson Soyī Deva rulers of Nāgarakhanda. (*Kadamba-Kula*, pp. 234, seq.) Why he doubts their Kadamba claims (*ibid.*, p. 235) cannot be made out. In *circa* A.D. 1182, they are called rulers born "in the lotus line of the Kadambas," (*E. C.*, VII. Sk. 197, p. 125), and in A.D. 1171 Soyī Deva is styled "the glory of the *Kadamba-kula*" (*E. C.* VIII. Sb. 345, p. 60). Mr. Moraes has nothing to say about Soyī Deva's general Vikramāditya who is alleged to have levied tribute from Tulu. B. A. S.

to say for the present. But the Ālupa ruler who was a contemporary of general Vikramāditya was Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I whose times, indeed, were pregnant with trouble for the Ālupas.

For we have already seen that under the Western Cālukya monarch Someśvara IV, his general Kāma Deva also called Kāva Deva, viceroy over Banavase Twelve Thousand and other provinces, as is related in an inscription dated A.D. 1189-90, levied tribute from the Tulu country.¹

A third incident in the reign of Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I relates to the battle on the plain of Birusa in which the Ālupas seem to have given a good account of themselves. This is gathered from an illegible inscription which may be assigned to the year A.D. 1220, of the times of the Kadamba Cakravartin Malli Deva. The inscription relates the following:—"When...Malli-devarasa was ruling...when Sāreya Bhairava Nāyaka had proved superior to the Ālvas in battle, the Āluva Sankeya Nāyaka slew the whole of Bīreya Deva's force. So that both armies applauded, he fought in the plain of Birusa, and in Basavaḷi was united to the celestial nymphs who bore him away."²

This epigraph needs some comment. There is nothing in it to justify the words "was ruling a peaceful

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan Dis* p. 86, op. cit.

2. The date A.D. 1200 given to this by Rice is purely hypothetical. *E.C. VIII. Sb. 188*, p. 30. It is possible that we may have to refer this inscription to the second year of the reign of Malli Deva or hereabouts. R. A. S.

kingdom" inserted by Rice while translating this record. If Mallī Deva's sixth year was A.D. 1224, as the Kuppagaḍḍe stone inscription informs us,¹ then the first year of his reign may be taken to be A.D. 1217-8. It has been wrongly inferred from the above record that "Sāreya Bhairava Nāyaka who was evidently the head of the new dynasty, attempted at this time to overthrow the Āluva family, the constituted authority in the province, and carve for himself an independent kingdom. From the name Bhairava we may conclude that this Sāreya Bhairava was one of the Śāntara chieftains of Kārkala. Possibly this was the old family of the Śāntaras, who finding it impossible to retain their power in the struggle for supremacy that was being carried on for a century round their original home migrated westwards and attempted to wrest the power from the Āluva rulers".²

The above statements are a conglomeration of conjectures. Sāreya Bhairava Nāyaka was not related in any way to the Bhairava chieftains of Kārkala; he did not attempt to overthrow the Āluva dynasty at this time; the Śāntara family did not migrate westwards from their "original home" -which in itself is an indefinite phrase-; and there is nothing to show that the record under discussion can in any way to be taken to

1. E. C. VIII. Sb 180, p. 29. Cf. Elliot, *Carnata-deśa Inscriptions*, II, pp 601-604 cited in Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.*, p. 594 (2nd ed.); Moraes, *Kadamba-Kula*, p. 148, n. (1).

2. Moraes, *ibid*, p. 150.

prove that the Śāntaras intended to wrest political power from the Ālupas.

All that the epigraph records is a spirited battle in which the Ālupas under their leader Saṅkeya Nāyaka showed their traditional courage which, as pointed out elsewhere in this treatise, had earned from their opponents the name of *submarine fire the Tuḷuva forces*. The original runs thus:— *Sāreya Bhairava Nāyakan Ālva mṛgil-āḡi ranadol-iriyala*. This has been incorrectly translated by Rice as “when Sāreya Bhairava Nayaka was greatly slaying (?) the Ālvas in battle.”¹ There is nothing in the inscription to show that Sāreya Bhairava Nāyaka was the head of the new dynasty, and that he intended to carve out a new principality for himself. On the other hand, his master was Bīreya Deva whose forces the gallant Āluva Saṅkeya Nāyaka slew, although the latter lost his life in the encounter. This Bīreya Deva was not a Śāntara but a chieftain of Candāvūru who is mentioned as *one entitled to the band of five chief instruments*, and *an elephant-goad to hostile kings* at the end of a grant recorded in the reign of the Yādava (Seuna) king Simhaṇa, and assigned to about A.D. 1215.² Whether he is to be identified with Kumāra Bīrarasa, about whom we shall presently say a few words, is doubtful. But Candāvūru seems to have given some trouble to the Ālupa rulers, as will be pointed out in a later context.

1. In the transliteration Rice adds the following words which are not to be found in the original *adan āntu vīram*. E.C. VIII, p. 65.

2. *Ibid*, Sb. 276, p. 48.

Sixteen years later in A.D. 1216, April the 27th Wednesday, another great battle was fought also within the limits of Tuluva. The stone inscription which gives us these details was found at Kuppagaḍḍe near the temple of Ganapati, Sohrab tāluka, Mysore State. It describes a battle fought near the village of Parige. That the Kadamba Cakravartin Kāva Devarasa took the initiative is evident from the statement that his generals Keśavadeva, Bommeya and others marched on Bāleyamakki and Sōde (...*Kāvadevarasaru Keśavadeva Bommeya mukhyaṣṭi palarum nāyakarum Bāleyamakki Sōḍiya mēle daṇḍam biḷa pēḷal...*). These places which are now outside Tuluva, the former near Bālehonnūr in Koppa tāluka, and the latter twelve miles north of Śīrsī in the North Kanara district, were then within Tuluva. In this battle of Parige, we may incidentally note, Masana, a servant of Bitteya Hebbāruva, met with a heroic death.¹ The Kāva Deva referred to in this record was no other than the Kadamba Cakravartin Kāva Deva who ruled from A.D. 1219 till A.D. 1231.²

Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendra I's last date is A.D. 1215. It is possible that the battle of Parige may

1 *Mys Archl. Rept. for 1929*, pp. 148, 268, 269.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 148. Rice places a Kadamba Cakravartin Candāvūru Tailapa Deva's son Kāva Deva, called Kadamba Rudra, in circa A.D. 1000 E. C. VIII. Sa 30, p. 96. Mr. Moraes conjectures that Kāva Deva "probably came to the throne in or about A.D. 1260" *Kadamba-Kula*, p. 154. Parige, it may incidentally be added, seems to have been within the jurisdiction of the Ālupas since the days of Citravāhana II. It is mentioned in the epigraph which describes his rebellion E. C. VIII. Sb. 10, p. 3, op. cit.

have been fought during the last year of his reign. In any case it is evident from the above that his reign was full of trouble for the Ālupa people.

We may observe here the activities of the daughter of a Kadamba king in Tuluva. A stone inscription found in the Amṛteśvara temple at Tiruvailu in the Mangalore tāluka, dated Śaka 1312 Śukla, Meṣa 1 (which is evidently a mistake for 11), Monday (A.D. 1389 April the 5th Monday),¹ relates that under the Vijayanagara monarch Harihara Mahārāya, Mallarasa was the governor placed over the Mangaḷūrurājya. The epigraph records a *sarvamānya* gift of land by Padumala Devī, daughter of Kāma Deva of the Mukkanṇa Kadamba-*vaṃśa*, to the temple of Amṛtanātha Deva at Ōmañjūru for worship and offerings to the god and for the maintenance of a feeding *satra*. It is interesting to observe that the management of the gift was left in the hereditary charge of three members of the Bhaṭṭitilla family.²

Who this Kāma Deva was, cannot be determined. As already mentioned, we have had an Ālupa Kāma Deva whose inscription was found in the Durgā Paramēśvarī temple at Iruvaila in the Kārkala tāluka.³ The relationship between the two cannot be made out.

1. Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* IV p 380 Śaka 1311=Śukla, and Śaka 1312=Pramoda.

2. 465 of 1928-9. On the Kadamba rulers connected with the legend of Mukkanna, see *infra* Chapter IV.

3. 477 of 1928-9, *op. cit.*

Turning to another Kadamba line, we find the following in an inscription discovered in the temple of Narsimha in North Kanara. It deals with the conquests of Jayakeśin I who is said to have assembled the Kadambas, conquered the Ālupas, established the Western Cālukyas in their kingdom, caused the Cālukyas and the Colas to become friends at Kañci, and made Gopakapattana (Goa) his capital. This inscription of the Kadamba king of Goa is dated Kaliyuga 4270 (A.D. 1169-70).¹

The Kadamba king mentioned here could only have been the Jayakeśin of Konkan spoken of by Bilhana in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* as having brought presents to the Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya VI. The Ālupa lord in the above record may be identified with Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendra Deva I on the following grounds.—

If we are to trust the above inscription which describes the glorious conquests of Jayakeśin I, then, we are to suppose that the subjugation of the lord of the Ālupas took place either in A.D. 1169-70 or earlier. Jayakeśin I is represented as ruling over Gopakapattana in A.D. 1070-1.² But as a feudatory of the Western Cālukya king Someśvara I, he figures as lord of the Konkan in A.D. 1052-53.³

1. *J. Bom. RAS IX*, pp. 262-282; *Fleet, Dyn. Kan. Dts.* pp. 90-91 (1st ed.), 444 (2nd ed.); *Ep. Rept. for 1925-26*, pp. 93-4. Mr. Moraes's remarks that the Ālupas were "refractory mahāmandaleśvaras" about this time (*Kadamba-Kula*, p. 183) are groundless. B. A. S.

2. 431 of 1926.

3. *Fleet, Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 90 (1st ed.); 567 (2nd ed.).

When did Jayakeśin conquer the lord of the Ālupas? It is reasonable to suppose that the conquests mentioned in the inscription from North Kanara took place in A.D. 1169-70. Now, according to the Ālupa genealogy given above, Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradava I reigned from A.D. 1113 till A.D. 1155. We have seen too that at first he had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Western Cālukyas, and that he later on had assumed independence. It may be presumed that he continued to be an independent king till the last year of his reign (A.D. 1155). We cannot place the subjugation of the lord of the Ālupas in the reign of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva, since the date A. D. 1169-70 is far removed from the last year of that Ālupa ruler. If we accept it, however, it would mean that Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva reigned for fifty-seven years (A.D. 1113-A.D. 1170) which is impossible. Hence the only alternative is to suppose that the subjugation of the lord of the Ālupas took place in the reign of the next Ālupa ruler Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I whose earliest date is A.D. 1176. If this is accepted, Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I's first regnal year would be A.D. 1170.

A word may be said in regard to this Ālupa king. He had to meet with the opposition of the Karnāṭaka and Koṅkan rulers on five different occasions. That he continued to rule for forty years and that he transmitted to his successor Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I the *sthira-simhāsana* of Bārahakanyāpura, in spite of all

these dangers, is in itself the best proof of his ability both as a ruler and a soldier.

10. THE KALACURIYA, THE KĀKATĪYA, AND THE HOSAGUNDA SCHEMES IN TULUVA

Before we pass on to the topic of Hoysala aggrandizement in Tuluva, it may be worth while to see in what manner the Kaḷacuriyas, the Kākatīyas, and the Hosagunda rulers were connected with Tuḷuva.

Of the general Keśimayya, in the reign of the Kaḷacuriya monarch Bijjala, it is said in an epigraph dated A.D. 1157 that he conquered Sanka Male.¹ We do not know whether the name Saṅka Male can be referred to its namesake in Tuḷuva. The Saṅka Male figures in Tuluva folksongs called Pāḍadānas,² and it is also the name given to the locality where the Madananteśvara (now rechristened Veṅkataramana) temple of Manjeśvara stands. How Ālupa Jagadevarasa was involved in the conflict between Vīra Śāntara, a feudatory of king

1. Rice, *Mys. Inscr.* p. lxxiii, 155. There is a *Dandanāyaka* Keśirāja or Keśimayya who is described in A.D. 1147-8 as governor over the Belvoḷa 300, the Palasige 12,00, and the Pānugal 500, under the Western Cālukya Jagadekamalla II. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 53. It cannot be made out whether the two Keśirājas were the same. We have here to observe that a Kalacuriya general the *Mahāmandaleśvara* Bijjala under the Western Cālukya Taila III, misused the trust reposed in him and was responsible for the downfall of the Western Cālukyas. Fleet, *ibid.* p. 54. It may be that the *Dandanāyaka* Keśirāja of A.D. 1147-8 went over to the Kalacuriya side in the reign of Taila III. B. A. S.

2. *Infra*, Ch. VI. Sec. 6.

Bijjaḷa, and Birarasa of Hosagunda in A.D. 1164, has already been described in an earlier context.

The Kākatīya king Pratāpa Rudra is said to have subdued Mahārāṣṭra, Kālīṅga, Saurāṣṭra, Gurjara, Varahāṭa, Karnāta, Drāviḍa, and Tauḷa(va). He is represented as the lord of all the above countries. He had an army nine lakhs strong. This is related in a record dated about A.D. 1234.¹

Pratāpa Rudra's claims for lordship over Tuḷuva as well as over the incredibly large army given above may be dismissed as bombast. The record which gives us the above details is an epigraph of doubtful authenticity. It must be admitted that the Ālupa records are silent for nearly forty years till the accession of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I. But that is no justification for admitting the claims of Pratāpa Rudra of having subdued Tuluva. All that may be said on behalf of the Kākatīya ruler is that the inscription merely echoes the glory of his general Prolarāja who is credited with the capture of the Western Cālukya king Taila III.²

With the Hosagunda rulers, however, Tuluva had more intimate relations. The Hosagunda chieftains were of the Śāntara stock with their chief town first at Kallise, and then at Hosagunda which they made their *rājadhāni*. We have already discussed the importance of the Siddheśvara temple *vīraḡaḷ* which describes the

1. E. C. XII. Tm. 14, p. 5. The original of this inscription is not forthcoming. *Ibid*, p. 5. n. (1).

2. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dis.* p. 54.

aid Ālupa Jagadevarasa gave his ally Vīra Śāntaradeva in A. D. 1164 against Bīrarasa of Hosagunda. In A.D. 1229 on the death (*atitam appa*) of Kumāra Bammarasa, Kumāra Bīrarasa is said to have ruled the Śāntalige Thousand in peace and wisdom. The following are some of the *birudas* given to him:—*satya-Ratnākara s'aranāgata-vajra-pañjara s'ri-Billeśvara-dēvara dibya-śrī-pāda-padma-ārādhakarum appa*.¹ These *birudas*, among others, are given to Kumāra Bīrarasa in an inscription which Rice has assigned to about A.D. 1221. That the date assigned to it is inadmissible will be evident from the following considerations:— In this later inscription we have an extra *biruda* pertaining to Tuluva which is not met with in the preceding record, *viz.*, that Kumāra Bīrarasa was a “Shaker of the Tuḷu Raya (*Tuḷu-Rāya gaṃpanācārya*).”² Evidently the second inscription has to be referred to a later age (*circa* A.D. 1248), when Kumāra Bīrarasa had interfered in Tuḷuva affairs.

One of the *birudas*—*śrī-Billeśvara dēvara dibya-śrī-pāda-padma-ārādhakarum appa*—is, however, applied to a Bīradevarasa in A.D. 1254 (January the 29th), when he marched with full military equipment (*sakala sāmagra sahitam*) against Idu Sāvanta of Bidirūru, and plundered all his valuables. Dr. Krishna has identified Bidirūru mentioned here with Bendore or Nāgar of later history.³ But Bidirūru is the name of Mūḍubidre in

1. E. C. VIII. Sa. 146, pp. 121 326.

2. *Ibid*, Nr. 8. p. 127.

3. *My. Archl. Rept.* for 1929, pp. 146-8, 274.

Tuluva, near where there is still a prominent household called the Idu-*biḍu*. But we are unable to say in what manner Bīrarasa was connected with Kumāra Bīrarasa.

In A.D. 1255 Kumāra Bīrarasa had one of the *birudas* given above slightly modified. He is called this year "Promoter of the Tuḷu kingdom (*Tuḷu Rājya samuddharanam*)."¹ As yet no mention is made of the capital (*rājadhāni*), although the *neleviḍu* has been mentioned, as will be related presently.

It is only in A.D. 1275 that Bammarasa Deva, who was evidently the son of Bīrarasa, is called *the establisher of the Tuḷu Rāja* (*Tuḷu Rāja pratistāpanācārya*), *boon lord of Pattu Pombucchapura*, *master of the western ocean*, and is stated to have been in the capital (*rājadhāni*) of Hosagunda.²

The genealogy of these Śāntaras of Hosagunda is given in a later record dated A.D. 1287 which continues to prefix the same *biruda* (*Tuḷu Rāja-sthāpanācārya*) to the next chieftain Tammarasa.³

Tammarasa's son was Bīrarasa, who is mentioned in a record dated 1294 of the reign of the Yādava ruler Rāmacandra. Bīrarasa Bommarasa is also called *Tuḷu Rāja pratiṣṭhāpanācārya* in this record.⁴

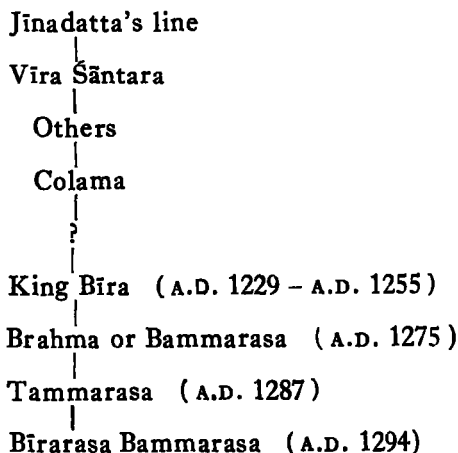
1. E. C. VIII. Sa. 150, text pp. 121, 328.

2. *Ibid*, Sa. 134, p. 119.

3. *Ibid*, VII. Sk. 312, pp. 153, 352.

4. *Ibid*, VIII. Sb. 502, p. 84. Dr. Krishna discusses a damaged *vīraḡal* found at Naḡakalasī describing the death of Bīrarasa Bammarasa and of Soyi Ballahadeva, the latter being the son of Śvara Deva

The genealogical descent of the Hosagunda rulers as gathered from the above inscriptions is as follows :



We do not know what precisely were the circumstances which secured for Hosagunda chieftains the *biruda Tuḷu rāya pratiṣṭhāpanācārya*. There is no evidence to prove that it refers to the Ālupas. It is true that there is a gap in the Ālupa history between A.D. 1215 and A.D. 1254 when Bīrarasa of Hosagunda administered his chiefship. But the reference seems to be to the activities of the Śāntaras of Hosagunda

of the Sinda family. The *viragal* contains only the cyclic year Kilaka. Dr. Krishna has assigned this *viragal* to A.D. 1188-9 (*My. Archl. Rep.* for 1930, p. 217) on the strength of another record noticed by Rice in the *E. C. VIII. Sb. 276*, p. 47, and assigned by him to *circa* A.D. 1180. But since we know that Bīrarasa Bammarasa's date is A.D. 1294, the above *viragal* has to be placed in about A.D. 1308, and the supplementary grant edited by Rice to the middle of the 13th century A.D. (*circa* A.D. 1294). B. A. S.

round the principality of Setu or Setuvinabīḍu (south-west of Sāgara), where they set up one of their own as a chief or helped one of their allies to secure a footing. Our surmise is proved by the activities of the first prominent Hosagunda ruler Bīrarasa. In a record dated A.D. 1248 he is given most of the titles mentioned above but not that referring to Tulu, thus showing beyond doubt that Bīrarasa did not come into contact with Tuluva till A.D. 1248. The interest of the epigraph lies in the fact that it gives Bīrarasa's residence (*neleviḍa*) at Kallise. This shows that the Śāntara chiefs had not yet made Hosagunda their *rājadhāni*. The record relates that when "Bīrarasa went to Setu, and captured Malisāle, Mudiga son of Mandasāle Bīroja's son Bañkoja and Bāgiyabbe, broke down both Setu and Katāra", but died in the attempt.¹

In the reign of the next Hosagunda chieftain, too, Setu was attacked. We prove this from a much-damaged inscription assigned to A.D. 1275 which informs us that Bellarasa Bammarasa's son Kālarasa "...Hearing that report the *Mahāmaṇḍeśvara* Ketarasa joined the Tuḷu camp (*Tulu katakavam*), and running about in the temple of Setu, was fighting, when Kālarasa, entering with his whole army, and attacking the men who were on foot, stopped them, knocked them down", but died nobly in the fight.² If the Tulu camp is thus associated with

1. *E. C.* VIII. Sa. 129, p. 118

2. *Ibid.* Nr. 26, p. 131. Kālarasa was a Kundanāḍ and Koḍanāḍ chief mentioned in A.D. 1218. *Ibid.* Sa. 15, p. 94.

the temple of Setu, it may reasonably be assumed that Setu was within the influence of the Ālupa rulers whose direct dealings with the Hosagunda chieftains are unfortunately not discernible in the epigraphs.¹

11. THE HOYSALAS AND THE ĀLUPAS

The Ālupas, who had managed to preserve their integrity even under the Western Cālukyas, suffered great hardships, especially in the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D., when one of the most famous of Karnāṭaka sovereigns swept over the land in a series of brilliant campaigns. Yet when the Hoysalas were but a rising family, struggling against the designs of an unknown enemy, they seem to have found a home in Tuluva. This accounts for the tradition according to which Vinayāditya Tribhuvanamalla Poysala Deva, whose earliest date is A.D. 1047, retired to Tuluva for some unknown reasons.² If this tradition is accepted, the event may be said to have happened before Bankideva Ālupendradeva I's accession to the throne.

That the Ālupas continued unmolested in the reign of Vinayāditya Deva's eldest son and successor Ballāla Deva I is proved by an inscription dated A.D. 1101, and again by another record of A.D. 1104, both of which narrate that the boundaries of the Hoysala kingdom were

1. On Setu, read, *E. C.* VII Hl. 54 dated A.D. 1254, p. 171, where Babbara Bāba figures; *E. C.* VIII. Intr. p. 11; Nr. 9, 11, 12, 19 ranging from A.D. 1278 to 1320, pp. 127-129.

2. Wilson, *Mack. Coll.* I. p. cix; Rice, *Mys. Gaz.* II. p. 207 (1st ed.).

the same as those under Vinayāditya Deva, viz., Ālvakheḍa, Bayalnāḍ, Talakāḍ, and Sāvimala.¹

But the good relations which existed between the Ālupas and the Hoysalas till the days of Ballāḷa Deva I were disturbed by an incident which we have already mentionee in an earlier context. This is the attack which the Śāntara chief Jagadeva made on Dorasamudra and his subsequent defeat and retreat. Jagadeva was repulsed by all the brothers—Ballāḷa Deva I, Bitti Deva, the future Viṣṇuvardhana, and Udayādityarasa.² The Śāntara chief, who had dared thus to attack the Hoysala capital, had gone to Tuluva, given one of his near relatives in marriage to the Ālupa king Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva I, and had founded a principality at Setu probably with the aid of the Ālupa king.

There was another cause of enmity between the Hoysalas and the Ālupas. The latter had always sided with the Western Cālukya feudatory (the Śāntara chief mentioned above) in Tuluva. The Hoysalas, who had acknowledge the suzerainty of the Western Cālukyas till the days of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, had shaken it off under him.³ The subversion of the Ālupas, who had been on

1. E. C. V. Intr. p. xii, Bl. 199, p. 108; E C. VI. Cm 160, p. 56. An undated inscription records a grant by Boppa Deva, the general of Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysala Deva. It narrates that Viṣṇuvardhana's father Tribhuvanamalla Ganga reigned over the whole territory bounded by Konkan, Ālvakheḍa, Bayalnāḍ, and Sāvimala, punishing the wicked and protecting the good. *My. Arch Rept. for 1925*, p. 40. This does not refer to Viṣṇuvardhana's father Ereyanga, who never had the title of Tribhuvanamalla Ganga, but to Vinayāditya. B. A. S.

2. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.* p. 99; Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 66.

3. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.* p. 96.

friendly terms with the Western Cālukyas for quite a long time, was but one step in the imperial scheme of the Hoysalas.

Add to these there was another grave reason why the Hoysalas turned their mind towards the Ālupas. The people of Ālvakheda caused havoc in territories within the jurisdiction of the Hoysalas. This is gathered from a record dated A.D. 1114 which informs us that when Viṣṇuvardhana Deva was ruling the Ganga-vāḍi Ninety-Six Thousand, and.....Śeṭṭi Gāvunḍa was holding the office of *gāvunḍa* in Kariviḍi Hirūr, the Ālvakheda people took prisoners in the Thousand (the name of which is not specified). At this Śeṭṭi Gāvunḍa fought with the people of Ālvakheda with daggers in front of Jayasingaḍu. He recovered the cows by the might of his arm, fought the Ālupa people who had committed the cattle raid, but died in the attempt.¹ This cattle raid must have precipitated the Hoysala advance into Tuḷuva.

Finally, there was the fact that the Hoysala themselves were of an inferior stock. They were essentially of Malepa origin,² while the Ālupas were a family of considerable antiquity. It was but natural that the new dynasty should have evinced a desire to subvert a more ancient family, especially when the latter were hindering their expansion in the south-west of the Karnāṭaka.

1. E. C. XII. Tp. 81, p. 59

2. Saletore, *The Wild Tribes*, p. 79 seq.

Viṣṇuvardhana took the initiative. He first turned his attention to the Śāntara chief Jagadeva, and then to the Ālupa king who had given shelter to the Śāntara enemy. The subversion of the Ālupa kingdom was such an important political achievement that it was remembered with pride for ninety-four years (A.D. 1117 till A.D. 1208). Indeed, for over three generations very few accounts of the military prowess of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva were embodied in epigraphs without mention being made of the conquest of Tuḷuva.

The subjugation of the Śāntara chief Jagadeva, therefore, was but the prelude to the Hoysala scheme of aggrandizement in Tuluva. The following will prove that Viṣṇuvardhana Deva first broke Jagadeva and then turned his attention to the latter's ally and relative the Ālupa king Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva. At first only the subjugation of the Śāntara chief is mentioned in epigraphs. But in a particular year the Tulu kings are said to have been subdued. And in the inscriptions of the succeeding years, the whole of the Tulu country is described to have been conquered by Viṣṇuvardhana Deva.

The fact that Viṣṇuvardhana broke the power of the Śāntara chief Jagadeva is proved by a copper-plate inscription dated A.D. 1117 which describes, among other military achievements of the great Hoysala soldier, the following.— that he was a Bhairava in destroying the armies of Jagadeva (*Jagat-deva bala vilaya Bhairavanum*). The statement which precedes this, viz., that

Viṣṇuvardhana Deva was an adept at the game of war in overthrowing the Tuḷu kings (*Tuḷu nrpāḷa hṛdaya vīdaḷana prakata rana kaliyuma*) is to be understood in the sense that the above-mentioned chief Jagadeva was assisted by the Tuḷu (i.e., Ālupa) king, who must have already strengthened his Śāntara alliance prior to the event in question. Only in this way can we understand the term "armies" of Jagadeva referred to in the record.¹

There is another consideration which justifies our assumption relating to the overthrow of the Tuḷu kings and to the armies of Jagadeva given above. This can be best understood by discussing the date of the subjugation of Jagadeva by Viṣṇuvardhana Deva. We place this event after A.D. 1117 according to the following considerations.

Vīra Jagadeva's attack on Dorasumdra took place in A.D. 1104. The Ālupa people committed havoc in the Hoysala territory in A.D. 1114 when the Śāntara chief had visited Bārakūru and given a grant of land to a temple in that city. That Viṣṇuvardhana Deva could not have undertaken the subjugation of Jagadeva till A.D. 1116 is clear from the trend of events in the Hoysala capital. There that ruler, who seems to have ascended the throne in about A.D. 1104, was being con-

1. *My. Ins.* p. 263. Rice correctly states in his *Intr.* that Viṣṇuvardhana subdued the Kadamba king Jayakeśin, and then Jagadeva who is described in his record, as ruling in Tuluva. *Intr.* p. lxxvii. By Tuluva is here meant the territory round Setu. B. A. 9.

verted from Jainism into Vaiṣṇavism under the influence of the great reformer Rāmānujācārya. Indeed, it was only in A.D. 1116, as Rice rightly remarks, that Visnuvardhana Deva entered on a series of brilliant campaigns beginning with the conquest of Talakāḍ (A.D. 1116).¹

It was in the year A.D. 1117 that Viṣṇuvardhana Deva overcame the Śāntara chief Jagadeva, for in the list of the conquests of his great general Punisa, who had conquered the Nīlādri and Maleyāla, as given in a record dated A.D. 1117, no mention is made of Tuluva.² Yet we presume that it was in the same year that the Hoysala monarch overthrew Jagadeva and his ally the Ālupa ruler. For in a record dated in that year (A.D. 1117) the glory of the Hoysala monarch is sung, and it is related that bursting the heart of the Tulu kings in the game of war, he swept over other regions in a career of conquests.³

Now, when was the subjugation of the Ālupa king Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva effected, and who was the Hoysala general who is credited with the conquest of the Tulu country? Since Jagadeva's subjugation is to be placed in A.D. 1117, we have to presume that the overthrow of the Ālupa ruler followed in the same year or immediately afterwards. That Visnuvardhana Deva subdued that Ālupa ruler will be proved from a later

1. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg*, p. 99.

2. *E. C.* IV. Ch. 83, p. 10.

3. *Ibid.*, V. Bl. 58, pp. 56-57 Cf. *My. Ins.*, p. 263, op. cit.

record dated A.D. 1162 of the times of Narasimha Deva I which describes graphically the conquests of his great father. We believe that the subjugation of the Ālupa ruler was effected between the year A.D. 1117 and A.D. 1120 on the strength of the epigraphs which mention the conquests of the Tulu country by Viṣṇuvarhdhana Deva. Thus, an inscription dated about A.D. 1120 informs us that that Hoysala monarch "took by the might of his arm the Tulu country". In the same inscription he is styled "a submarine fire to the ocean the Tuluva forces".¹ Another inscription assigned to about A.D. 1125 relates that Viṣṇuvarhdhana Deva took the Tuḷu country (*Tuḷudeśam*) among other countries.² In A.D. 1131 the Hoysala monarch is called "a dragger along of the Tuluvas."³ An epigraph dated A.D. 1133 informs us that he brought into subjection the whole of the Male and the whole of the Tulu country.⁴ In a record of the next year (A.D. 1134) he is called "The capturer with a frown of the Tulu country."⁵

In spite of the statements made in some of the above inscriptions that the great Hoysala monarch had captured the whole of the Tuḷu country, it is permissible to assume that he did not annihilate the Ālupa power. This is attested to by the following considerations.—

1. *E. C.* XI. Tp. 58, p. 54
2. *Ibid*, IV. Ng. 28, p. 117.
3. *Ibid*, II. No. 53, p. 131 (1st ed.).
4. *Ibid*, V. Bl. 124, p. 81.
5. *Ibid*, XII. Gb. 34, p. 24.

Firstly, in some of the inscriptions of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva himself, Tuḷuva is not included in the list of the conquests made by that monarch.

Secondly, one inscription specifically states that he captured only as far as Bārakūru, while the others give the Bārakanūru Ghat (*i e.*, Bārakūru itself) as the western boundry of his empire.

And, thirdly, the inscriptions of his son and successor Narasimha Deva I speak of Āḷvakheda as the western boundry of the Hoysala empire. Moreover, a Hoysala general had to be sent again to check the growth of the Ālupas in the reign of that same monarch.

In one record dated about A.D. 1120, and in others dated A.D. 1135, A.D. 1139 and A.D. 1141, Tuḷuva is not included in the list of countries conquered by Viṣṇuvardhana Deva. These epigraphs belong to his reign, and their evidence, therefore, cannot be doubted.¹ Even in a later record dated A.D. 1160, which recounts all his conquests, no mention is made of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva's having conquered Tuluva.² We may cite here a later record dated A.D. 1170 of the reign of Narasimha Deva I which does not add Tuluva in the list of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva's conquests.³ The statement made in another epigraph of the same Hoysala ruler Narasimha Deva to the effect that Āḷva sank down before Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, as will be mentioned presently, only serves to

1. *E. C.* III. Sr. 43, p. 15; II. No. 56, p. 143, No. 144, p. 187 (1st ed.); VI. Kp. 80, p. 15. Kd. 96, p. 17

2. *Ibid*, VI. Kd. 67, pp. 12-13.

3. *Ibid*, Kd. 30, p. 6.

strengthen our assumption concerning the integrity of the Ālupa kingdom.

Two records which also belong to Viṣṇuvardhana Deva's reign, dated A.D. 1129 and A.D. 1140 respectively, inform us that the Bārakanūru Ghat was the western boundry of the Hoysala empire.¹ An inscription dated A.D. 1141, which was the last year of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, clearly tells us that the strong-armed Hoysala Deva (*i. e.*, Viṣṇuvardhana) conquered (only) as far as Bārakanūru on the west ([*paḍuva*] *lu Bārakanūru mutte*).²

The name of the general who brought Tuluva under the Hoysala power is now to be found out. It is not disclosed in any of the inscriptions of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva himself. But an inscription of Ballāla Deva II dated A.D. 1183 informs us that Boppa Dandādhipati having brought the Malenād, the Tulunād, the beautiful Colamaṇḍala, and the territory up to the Peddore as the northern boundry into subjection to the king Visnu, acquired the name of *drōharagharatta* (A Grind stone to Traitors), because of the might of his arms with which he slew those who attacked him in the battle.³

That Ālvakheḍa remained in tact inspite of the glorious military achievements of the Hoysala monarch

1. *E. C. Mg.* 22, p. 62, Kd. 79, p. 15.

2. *Ibid.*, VI. Kd 102, p. 19.

3. *Ibid.*, V Bl. 137, p. 91. An inscription dated A.D. 1136 (of the times of Narasimha Deva ?) relates that Ballāla Camūpa (also called Baḷlu and Vallu) caused the Cola country to tremble, and took tribute from Tuluvalapura. *E. C. VI.* Kd. 35, p. 7. Tuluvalapura does not refer to Tuluva here. B. A. 9.

and his able general is proved by the inscriptions of the ruler who succeeded Visnuvardhana Deva, and by the fact that another Hoysala general was sent against the Ālupas in A.D. 1155. One of the boundries of the kingdom of Narasimha Deva, as given in an inscription dated A.D. 1143, was Ālvakheda in the west.¹ The reason why Narasimha Deva sent one of his generals against the Tuluva ruler is to be found in the repeated attempts which the Ālupa king Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva I made to assert his independence. An inscription dated A.D. 1155 relates that Cokimayya, also called Bokimayya and Bokana, who was the great minister and general, and senior master of the robes, brought into subjection the Tuḷu country. Bokana was like a mirror to the goddess of victory in all the earth.² The recrudescence of the Ālupa danger in the reign of Narasimha Deva I and the consequent success which his great general won over the Ālupas was perhaps the reason why in about A.D. 1160, and again A.D. 1163, that Hoysala ruler is called "a submarine fire to the ocean the Tuḷu forces".³

We may cite here a few instances of the popularity of the conquest of Tuḷuva by Visnuvardhana Deva in the reign of his son Narasimha Deva I. An inscription dated A.D. 1160 narrates that "the door of the Ghats was closed" by king Visnu.⁴ The reference here is

1. *E. C. V. Ak.* 55, p. 130

2. *Ibid.*, Hn. 69, p. 21.

3. *Ibid.*, II. No. 137 (a), p. 181, (1st ed.) ; XII, Tp, 66, p. 56.

4. *Ibid.*, II No. 138, p. 183, (1st ed.).

obviously to the extension of the Hoysala arms to the Bārakanūru Ghat. The valiant Viṣṇuvardhana Deva took with a frown (*bhrūbhāṅgam*) the Tulu country along with Cakragoṭṭa and other centres. So is related in another record of Narasiṃha Deva dated A.D. 1162¹

The same inscription graphically describes the conquests of Visnuvardhana Deva and proves our assertion that he had only vanquished the Ālupa ruler. It describes how when he sounded the war drums, Cera's chest split open like a door broken into two, Āndhra's stoutness was reduced by the beating of himself, and Ālva sank (*Ceram-ede-havane pāridud Āndhran ubbegam baḍutave kaṇḍidam kusidan Ālvaran ālasi poyva bhēriyam*).² This epigraph conclusively shows that the Ālupa king was neither killed nor driven to the forest, but that he merely submitted to the Hoysala monarch.

Another inscription dated A.D. 1162 speaks of Nrpa Kāma Hoysala's son capturing Tulunāḍu. As Rice has shown, the reference here is to Viṣṇuvardhana Deva himself.³

It is interesting to observe here that the memory of Narasiṃha Deva was perpetuated in Tuḷuva by the construction of a well known fort and town. This was the famous Jamālābād fort (twenty miles east of Mangalore) of the eighteenth century. Concerning its early history Buchanan noted the following:— That

1-2. *E. C. IV. Hs. 137, p. 96, text p. 270.*

3 *Ibid*, V. Intr. pp. x-x1; Ak. 142, p. 176.

according to the tradition of locality (at Jamālābād), a Brahman named Narasinga Rāya, the founder of a dynasty which governed the whole of Tuḷuva immediately after that of Mayūravarmā became extinct, built a town on the banks of the river here, and called it Narasinga Angaḍi after his own name. Towards the foot of the rock, at present occupied by the fortress, he erected a citadel and this was the residence of the family of which Buchanan found no traces in any other place.¹

Narasimha Deva's son by Mahā Devī was Ballāḷa Deva II, who proved to be a second Viṣṇuvardhana. Even in the reign of his father, Ballāḷa, then known by the name Ballu, is credited with a victory over Tuḷuva. The inscription records that Tuluva losing his power ran away (*Tuḷuvam aḷaviḡett-ōḍidan*). In the same epigraph the title "submarine fire to the Tuluva army" is given to Ballāḷa.² In A.D. 1173 the inscriptions merely repeat the great deeds of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva concerning Tuḷuva, and have nothing to say concerning Ballāḷa Deva's relations with that province.³ Then, again, in A.D. 1174, the same is repeated but this record adds that when Ballāḷa mounted his horse for his expedition of victory, Tuluva losing his confidence ran away.⁴

1. Buchanan, *A Journey*, III p. 68. Later tradition evidently made the Hoysala Narasimha a Brahman. But the Hoysalas were never Brahmans. For a description of the fort at Jamālābād, read Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, I. p. 79, n. (12). B. A. S.

2. *E. C.* IV. Ng. 30, pp. 119, 339.

3. *Ibid.*, VI. Kd. 4, p. 2 ; Kd. 136, p. 26.

4. *Ibid.*, V. Ak. 138, p. 173.

But in the list of conquests given in the next year (A.D. 1175) no mention is made of Tuluva.¹ Viṣṇuvardhana Deva's prowess relating to Tuluva is sung in A.D. 1178, A.D. 1179, and in about A.D. 1180.²

Notwithstanding the few notices relating to Ballāla Deva's campaign against Tuluva, we may presume that he left Āḷvakheda intact under the Ālupa ruler Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I. It is true that in a record assigned to *circa* A.D. 1178 Ballāla Deva is said to have covered up with smoke Pānugal and the mountainous Āḷvakheda.³ And again in A.D. 1182 he is called by the phrase "submarine fire to the ocean Tuluva."⁴ But the fact of Bārakanūru having been the western boundary of Ballāla Deva's empire on the west, as recorded in an epigraph dated A.D. 1178, and confirmed by another inscription of A.D. 1184,⁵ clearly demonstrates that the Ālupas continued undistributed in their kingdom. It is possible that at the end of Hoysala campaign about which we do not know anything for the

1. *E. C.* III. My. 8, p. 1.

2. *Ibid.*, IV. Ng. 70, p. 130, Ng. 15, p. 115; VII. Sh. 40, p. 18. This last epigraph dated in about A.D. 1180, deserves a passing note. When Rice at first included Tuluva-Rājendrapuram among the conquests of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, he assigned the inscription to about A.D. 1160 *E. C.* III. Sr. 74, p. 25. But another version of the same fact clearly says that Tuluva and Rājendrapuram were captured. This inscription is assigned to about A.D. 1180. *E. C.* VII. Sh. 40, p. 18. B. A. S.

3. *Ibid.*, V. Cn. 220, p. 220

4. *Ibid.*, II. No. 124, p. 174. (1st ed.).

5. *Ibid.*, VI. Cm. 21-22, p. 37-8; *ibid.*, IV. Ng. 32, p. 120. This latter record deals with Vinayāditya Hoysala, and sings also Viṣṇuvardhana Deva's praise.

present, the Ālupa ruler was merely made to pay tribute to the Hoysala monarch. The records of the reign of Ballāḷa Deva II ranging from A.D. 1190 to A.D. 1208 ascribe to him the honour given to him in A.D. 1164, viz., that on his mounting his horse for war, Tuḷuva, disgracing his power, ran away (*Tuḷuvan alavigett ōḍidan*), and repeat the eulogy bestowed on Visnuvardhana Deva when the latter had subdued Tuluva.¹ Tuluva is not mentioned in the list of conquests given in epigraphs dated A.D. 1193 and in about A.D. 1194.²

In the same year (A.D. 1194), however, the Ālupas caused a disturbance in the Hoysala territory. The inscription which describes this informs us that "along with Āluva Nāyaka, putting a stop to the riot, Jatanayya son of Jakka Gauḍa, son of Eca Gauḍa of Beratiyakere, fought in Musuvana-katta" and died.³ The result of this raid is unknown. But in A.D. 1196 the traditional *bīruda* "a submarine fire to the ocean the Tuluva army" is given to Ballāḷa Deva II.⁴

A further proof of the existence of the Ālupas as a power in the reign of the next Hoysala king Narasiṃha Deva II is given in a record of A.D. 1278 which makes Āḷvakheda the western boundary of the Hoysala empire.⁵

1 E. C. IV. Ng. 93, p. 137; VI. Kd 77, p. 14; XII. Tp. 128, p. 67. VI. Kd. 117, p. 21.

2 *Ibid*, VII. Sk. 105, p. 77, III. Sr. 44, p. 10. The latter is dated by Rice in A.D. 1195. In view of the troubles in A.D. 1194 or thereabouts, it may not be wrong to date it in that year. B. A. S.

3 *Ibid*, VI. Kd. 81, p. 15.

4 *Ibid*, II. No. 130, p. 177. (1st ed.).

5 *Ibid*, V. Cn. 204, p. 213.

A critical stage in the history of the Ālupas is reached with the accession of the last great Hoysala monarch, Vīra Ballāla Deva III. Seven stone inscriptions of this monarch and of his chief queen have been found in Tuḷuva itself, while four more concerning his dealings with this province have been found on the Ghats. Before we proceed to deal with these eleven epigraphs, we may observe that Vīra Ballāla Deva III's interference in Tuluva affairs was not altogether unjustifiable. The Hosagunda rulers, as we have already described above, were playing the part of king-makers ; and they were the feudatories of the Yādavas (Seuṇas) who were the traditional enemies of the Hoysalas. The Yādava advance to the south could be checked only when their powerful feudatories, the Hosagunda chieftains, were thwarted in their designs. And this could be successfully done by controlling the affairs in Tuluva and establishing the Hoysala authority in that province on a firm basis. This explains the gradual disappearance of the Ālupas and the absorption of their principalitty first in the Hoysala empire, and then, in that of their successors, the Vijayanagara monarchs.

The seven stone inscriptions found in Tuluva proper, dealing with Vīra Ballāla Deva III, are the following:— the Mūḍubidre Guru *basti* stone inscription ; the Kānteśvara temple stone inscription, both in the Kārkala taluka, two stone inscriptions found in the Mahiśāsūramardhini temple at Nīlāvara in the Uḍipi tāluka, the Someśvara temple stone inscription dis-

covered at Mūḍukēṛi in Bārakūru ; the stone epigraph found in Bailūru in the Uḍipi tāluka : and the Gubbukōṇe Gopālakṛṣṇa temple stone inscription found at Kanyāna, Kundāpūru tāluka.

Of these the Mūḍubidre Guru *basti* stone inscription is important from the Hoysala point of view. For in this record the future Vīra Ballāla Deva is associated with the town of Mūḍubidre. The inscription narrates, among other things, that Śrī Vīra Ballāla Deva was ruling the kingdom of the world (*S'ri-Vīra Ballāla Deva-rugaḷa pṛthuvī-rājyam-geyyutt-irdda*). He is mentioned as the son of Śrī Vīra Narasimha Adhindra Deva (Narasimha Deva III), who is given the following *birudas*—*śrī-Mañjunātha-dēvara dibya-śrī-pāda-padma-ārādhakaram para-baḷa-sādhakaram appa śrīmat Pāṇḍya-cakravartin Basava S'ankara-rāya-gajāṅkuṣa huli-rāya gaṇḍa-bhērūṇḍa śrīmat pratāpa-cakravarti Hoyisana śrī-Vīra Narasimhādindra*.

We may observe here that of these titles *Pāṇḍya cakravartin* is the same *biruda* which Bankideva Ālupendra-deva had assumed in A.D. 1302, while *Pāṇḍya-cakravartin arirāya-Basava-S'ankara* had been borne by Soyideva Ālupendradeva in A.D. 1315, and again in A.D. 1324. Gopīśvara Rāya had borne the *biruda* of *arirāya-Basava-S'ankara* in A.D. 1332, while Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva in A.D. 1346 had also the same *biruda* in addition to his other *birudas* *Pāṇḍya-cakravartin arirāya gajāṅkuṣa*. The *biruda* *Pāṇḍya-cakravartin* alone may be said to have been the legitimate title of the Ālupas. As to how the titles *arirāya-Basava-S'ankara* and *arirāya-Gajāṅkuṣa* came to

be assumed by them, and how these two titles came to be borne by the Hoysala prince Ballāla cannot be made out for the present.

The Mūdubidre stone inscription is dated only in the cyclic year Vis(ś)u and the 15th Thursday. The cyclic year Vṛsa agrees with Śaka 1203, and the date corresponds to Thursday the 9th January A.D. 1281.¹

Since Vīra Ballāla is represented as ruling the kingdom of the world, and since the record was found at Mūdubidre, it may reasonably be inferred that prince Ballāla in A.D. 1281 was placed by his father Vīra Narasiṃha Deva III as viceroy over Tuḷuva with his headquarters at Mūdubidre. Ten years before Vīra Ballāla Deva came to the throne, therefore, he had seen State service in Tuḷuva.

The Mūdubidre record gives us the following information.—Hariyapa Dannāyaka, the brother-in-law of Devapa Dannākaya Mādaḍharu, son of Hosabaḍharu, *Adhikārī* Deva Āluva, Salūkeyara, Ballālas, eight respectable Śeṭṭis (or heads of the commercial guilds) of Mūdubidre, and others, having decided among themselves (*tammol-ēkastar āgi*), caused a decree to be signed which we have already noticed in the previous pages of this treatise.²

1. Swamikannu, *Ind Ephem.* IV p. 164

2. 43 of 1901, *S. I. I.*, VII. No. 213, pp. 108-9, op. cit *Supra* Ch. III. Sec. 10, C. Dr. Venkata Ramanayya asserts that Vīra Ballāla III in A.D. 1297 conquered "one of the numerous Ālupa Chiefs that were ruling on the west coast" about this time. *Vijayanagara-The Origin of the City and the Empire*, p 67, and *ibid*, n (1) (Madras, 1933). The reference given is to *E. C.* IV. Ng 95 and *Mys. Arch.*

Here we have to relate the events which happened in A.D. 1300 and after, since they will explain Vīra Ballāla Deva's attitude towards Tuḷuva. A stone inscription found at Baradavalī, Sāgar tāluka, and dated A.D. 1300, narrates that Vīra Ballāla Deva having taken Hosagunda, captured Kōti Nāyaka and carried off his elephant, marched in the next year against Gangeya Sāhani, and encamped at Śīrsī. He then plundered Kadabalalu. This seems to have led to a coalition of the Kadamba Cakravartin (Kāva Deva?) and the Cāḷukya Cakravartin, whose praise is given. Jagadalāla Gangeya Sāhani, the great minister of Kāva Deva, however, sent for the "brave lion" Madi Gauḍa, who pierced the horse of the enemy, destroyed them and "broke Ballāla Deva's army" but died in the encounter.¹ Vīra Ballāla Deva, therefore, failed in this attempt to crush the Hosagunda rulers, who were the traditional enemies of the Hoysalas.

He made another attempt in A.D. 1303 to subvert them. In that year he is represented as marching with his whole army and encamping at Banavase. This time, too, he took the field against "the world-renowned Gangeya Sāhani". The inscription discovered at

Rept. for 1918, p. 47. But the former reference is wrong, for Ng. 95 is an undated inscription assigned by Rice to *circa* A.D. 1142. It records merely the construction of a Jīnālaya by a citizen. *E. C.* IV. p. 138 There were never "numerous Ālupa Chiefs" on the western coast. Evidently Dr. Ramanayya confounds the Ālupas of Tuḷuva with the "numerous" chiefs who bore a similar name but on the Western Ghats! B A. S.

1. *E. C.* VIII. Sa. 45, p. 98.

Rāvanakān, Sāgar tāluka, records the battle of Śirise (Śirśi) in the Kadāmbalaligenāḍ, and the heroic deeds of Rānavagga Bīra. Vīra Ballāḷa Deva evidently was successful in this encounter.¹

The two campaigns at Śirśi had grave effects on the history of Tuluva. Śirśi in those ages belonged to Tuluva. That the Tuluvas were in some way implicated in the affairs that led to the two encounters at Śirśi there cannot be any doubt. Indeed, the following epigraph dated A.D. 1319 January, Tuesday the 2nd,—sixteen years after the second battle at Śirśi,—clearly suggests that the Tuḷuvas had invited disaster on themselves. For this stone epigraph found at Hanagavāḍi, Honnāli tāluka, gives an account of the measures which Vīra Ballāḷa Deva's generals took to assert the Hoysala authority in Tuḷuva.

The cause of the trouble was following: a leader called Basava Deva of Candāvuru below the Ghats (i.e., in Tuḷuva) had rebelled against the Hoysalas for some unknown reasons. At this Sankiya Sāhaṇi, the brother-in-law of the senior house (palace) minister (*hūriya maneya pradhāni*) Baiceya Dannāyaka, was directed to march against Basava Deva. Candāvuru was destroyed, and Sankiya Sāhaṇi proceeded against Muṭṭa.....which he besieged. In the battle of the Ghats, as it is called in the record, the Tuḷavas were destroyed. The most

¹ E. C., Sa. 101, p. 110. A record dated A.D. 1317 informs us that Vīra Ballāḷa Deva gave a grant to some one. It mentions Gangeya Dannāyaka as the son of Āluva Dannāyaka, one of the royal *Danḍa-nāthas* of the court. E. C. IX., Ma. 59, p. 58. B. A. S.

remarkable incident in the battle, it may be observed, was the heroism of *Mahāsāmanta Sāmāntādhipati* Sangiya Nāyaka, who died in the battle.¹

The other inscriptions found in Tuluva are also to be referred to the reign of the same Hoysala monarch. The first of these was found in the Mahiśa-suramardhini temple at Nīlāvara in the Uḍipi tāluka. It is dated Śaka 1255, Āṅgīrasa, Phālguna, Ba. 10, Mīna, 16, Thursday which corresponds to A.D. 1333, March the 11th Thursday. The inscription records a gift of lands in Niruvāra (i.e., Nīlāvara) by the fourteen members of the assembly of the village to the temple of Durgā Bhagavatī. The gift was made with the permission of Vayijapa Daṇṇāyaka and other officers and in the presence of the chief queen Cikkāyi Tāyigaḷu.²

Another record also discovered in the same temple but dated Śaka 1257, Bhāva, Dhanu, 2(8), Vaḍḍavāra which corresponds to A.D. 1334, December the 24th Saturday, gives the name of the queen as Bukkāyi Tāyi. The village (assembly) of Niruvāra (seems to have made a similar gift).³

1. E. C. VII. Hl. 117, pp. 178, 423 The date given is *Śaka-varuṣa* 1248 *neya Kālāyukta Samvatsarada Śu. 10 Sōmavāra*. But the cyclic year for Śaka 1248 was Kṣaya, while for Śaka 1240 it was Kālāyukta. The date intended was probably A.D. 1319 January the 2nd Tuesday, the week day not corresponding Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV, p. 240.

2. 492 of 1928-29; *Ep. Rept.* for 1928-9, p. 54. (Śaka 1255 = Śrīmukha; Śaka 1254 = Āṅgīrasa) But Phālguna Bahula 10 = March the 12th Friday. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV, p. 268

3. 493 of 1928-9; *Ep. Rept.* for 1928-9, p. 54.

But the correct name of the chief queen of Vīra Ballāḷa Deva was Kṛṣṇāyī Tāyī. This is gathered from a stone inscription found in the Someśvara temple at Mūḍukēri in Bārakūru. It styles her as the senior crowned queen (*pattada piri-arasi K[r]i[ṣṇ]āyī Tāyī*). The *Mahāpradhāna* Vayijapa Daṇṇāyaka during the minister-ship (*pradhānikeyalu*) of Ajjanna Sāhani, in the presence of the senior crowned queen Kṛṣṇāyī Tāyī, made some (specified) endowment for the customary procedure of the god Somanātha (*Somanātha dēvara bēhara naḍavaḍe*). The co-operation of the three Śettis or the heads of the commercial guilds of the three streets of Bārakūru (*mūru kēriya mūvāru S'ettikāraru*), and of the 150 citizens and of others (*?nūru aivattu eḷame muntāgi*) was also obtained while making the endowment.

The above inscription is dated *S'aka varusa 1258 neya Dhātu samvatsarada Vaiśākha S'uddha 1 Meṣa māsa 16 neya S'anuvāradanda* which works out correctly to A.D. 1336 April (Dhātri) the 13th Saturday.¹

The sixth stone inscription which falls within the reign of the Hoysala monarch Vīra Ballāḷa Deva III was found at Bailūru in the Uḍipi tāluka. It is dated Śaka

1 122 of 1901; S. I. I VII. No. 312, p. 163; Swamikannu, *ibid*, IV. p. 274. The opinion of Rangachari that the record of A.D. 1331 "Shows that the Ālupas were overthrown by the Hoysalas in the government of the District" *Top. List.*, II, p. 861) is erroneous. We have seen that epigraphical evidence proves that the Ālupas continued to rule even under the Vijayanagara monarchs as feudatories till A.D. 1441. Neither the Hoysala nor the Vijayanagara rulers were indiscreet enough to overthrow an ancient family that had governed the district for centuries. B. A. S.

1257 (A.D. 1335-6), and it narrates that the queen Kikkāyī Tāyī granted the *samudāya* tax of the village of Bailūru (for the offerings of the god ?) to Vāsudeva Mudali. The *Mahāpradhāna* Baicapa Dannāyaka and the *nakhara hañjumāna* or the corporate assembly of Bailūru are also mentioned in this record ¹

And yet another stone inscription of this queen has been found in Tuluva. It was discovered in the Gub-bukōne Gopālakṛṣṇa temple at Kanyāṇa in the Kundā-pūru tāluka. It is dated only in the cyclic year (Śarva) dhārīn, Mithuna, Friday, which agrees with Śaka 1270 (A.D. 1348 June), the other detail being insufficient to verify the date. In this the ruler is given the following *birudas*.—*Pāndya Cakravartin, arirāya-Basava S'ankara* and *rāya-gajānkuṣa*. And the queen is represented as making a gift of land to Anna Hebbāruva.²

We may be permitted to refer here to the remarks of the Madras Government Epigraphist (Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar) concerning this Kanyāṇa stone inscription. He writes thus:—"As the present inscription makes no mention of Vīra Ballāla, while giving all the regal titles to his queen Kikkāyī, it must be understood that subsequent to his demise which is known to have taken place in A.D. 1342 (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 108), his queen ascended the throne and was alive in the year Sarvadhārīn which corresponds to Śaka 1271, i. e., A.D. 1348. The same queen figures in an in-

1. 583 of 1929-30.

2. 360 of 1930-31.

scription of Harihara II from Śringeri (*Ep. Carn.* Vi. Sg. 1) dated three years earlier than the above epigraph, *viz.*, in Śaka 1268, Pārthiva, with the same *biradas* and supplementing a grant of land made by the king to the teacher Bhāratī Tīrtha, thus showing the subordinate position of the last Hoysala rulers to the rising Vijayanagara power.¹

The above form a string of blunders. It is incorrect to assert that consequent on the death of Vīra Ballāla Deva III his queen ascended the throne. For this violates all the known facts concerning that ruler and his son and successor Virūpākṣa Ballāla IV. The latter came to the throne on the death of his father in A.D. 1343.² Secondly, the cyclic year Sarvadhāra given in the above Kanyāna record agrees with Śaka 1270 and not with Śaka 1271 the cyclic year of which was Virodhin.³ Thirdly, it was not Harihara Rāya II who made the gift to Bhāratī Tīrtha Śrīpāda, as recorded in the famous Śringeri *matha* inscription,—which we have referred to in this treatise—, but it was Harihara Oḍeya I who, along with his brothers, went to the Śringeri *matha* in A.D. 1346. Further, none of the inscriptions under review, including the one as Śringeri, gives the titles *Pāndya cakravartin*, etc. to the queen Kikkāyi Tāyi. They were assumed either by Vīra Ballāla Deva III or by the Ālupa ruler Vīra Pāndyadeva Ālupendradeva II.

1. *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle for 1930-31*, p. 49.

2. Saletore, *S. P. Life*. I. p. 7., and *ibid.*, n. 6; 11, seq.

3. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV. pp. 298-300.

The fact that no ruler is mentioned in the record from Kanyāna is significant : it shows us that on the death of Vīra Ballāḷa III, his queen came to the court of her brother Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva II. We have seen elsewhere that Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva II lived till A.D. 1366. The Kanāyana record, therefore, has to be assigned to his reign. And, finally, the last of the Hoysala kings were never subordinate to the rising Vijayanagara family.¹

A few observations may be made concerning the senior crowned queen Kṛṣṇāyī Tāyī. She figures in five inscriptions hailing from the Kundāpūru, Uḍipi and Kārkaḷa tālukas. In all the five she is associated with the most prominent citizens who made gifts to temples in Tuḷuva. It is not improbable that the senior crowned queen was herself a Tuḷuva princess. This explains why she appears five times in the records of Tuḷuva.

A striking coincidence in support of our assumption is to be found in the fragmentary record already cited in the previous pages. This record dated A.D. 1346 was found in the Śrīṅgeri *matha* and it deals with the Ālupa king Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva. In this inscription the queen is called Śrī Kikkāi Tāyī. Evidently there is some error here : the name Kikkāyī Tāyī has been wrongly inserted for that of Kṛṣṇāyī Tāyī. But how the scribe came to mix up this name with that of Vīra Pāṇḍya

1 For a further discussion on this subject, read, Saletore, *ibid.*, p. 11 seq.; I. H. O., VIII. pp. 294, seq.

deva, two of whose *birudas*—*Pāndya-cakravartin* and *arirāya Basava S'ankara*—were also borne by Vīra Ballāla Deva III, cannot be made out, except on the supposition that queen Kṛṣṇāyī Tāyī was the sister of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva. The fact of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva's having made a grant to the same religious centre (Śringerī *matha*) in the very same year (A.D. 1346) when the five famous brothers, the founders of the empire of Vijayanagara, also had made a grant to the same institution, seems to point to the remarkable spirit of co-operation that prevailed amongst the new-comers and the Ālupas.¹

The battles of Śirśī and of the Ghāts led to a crisis in Tuluva. This is proved by the personal visit which Vīra Ballāla Deva paid to the general in Bārakūru in Śaka 1260 (A.D. 1338). The Someśvara temple epigraph found at Āladahallī, Arsiyakere tāluka, relates that when the monarch "paid a visit to the Bārakūru army, on his ordering Ankeya Nāyaka, son of the *great master of the robes* Honneya Nāyaka of Bāgīvāla in Kumāravrttiya Kūsu of the old Nīrguṇḍanāḍ, saying— 'Remain in Bārakūru', he replied— 'I will stay, Sire' (*iddhenu Jiyā*)! At which being pleased the monarch granted to him Āladahallī, a hamlet of Bāgīvāla, as a *kodagi*.'"²

1. Dr. Venkata Ramanayya admits that Kikkāyī Tāyī was an Ālupa by birth. But his statement that she bore the *birudas* *Pāndya-cakravartin*, *Basava-S'ankara*, and *rāyagajāṅkuśa* (*Vijayanagara—The Origin of the City and the Empire*, p. 134) is incorrect. Queens never bore, except in one solitary instance of a Kākatīya princess, the *birudas* of men! B. A. S.

2. E. C. V. Ak. 183, p. 185. Dr. Ramanayya has totally misunderstood the attitude of Vīra Ballāla III towards Tuluva. He main-

To this year A.D. 1338 is to be assigned the damaged and undated Kānteśvara temple stone inscription of the same Hoysala monarch. The following *birudas* are given to the ruler in this epigraph found in the Kārkala tāluka:—*samasta bhuvana-vikhyāta, mahārājādhirāja, arirāya Basava-S'ankara, śrīmat pratāpa cakravartin Hoysala Vira Ballāla Deva*. The inscription contains the cyclic year Bahudhānya incorrectly written as ...*madhyāna* (Sam) *vatsara*. The contents of this record have already been discussed in an earlier connection.¹

The last of the Hoysala monarchs, therefore, took a personal interest in the Tuluva affairs. When we remember that his senior crowned queen was a Tuluva princess, this solicitude for the welfare of the province is not unintelligible. But nothing can be gathered from the epigraphs concerning the result of this royal visit to Bārakūru in A.D. 1338. To his successors—the rulers of Vijayanagara—, however, was transmitted an equally lively interest in the affairs of Tuluva. Strictly speaking this part of the narrative falls outside the scope of the present work. But so that we may note the position of the capital Bārakūru which Vira Ballāla Deva visited, even after the advent of the Vijayanagara

tains that the Hoysala ruler went to Tuluva to meet "the only foe" he had on the western coast—Harīhara Rāya I, one of the founders of Vijayanagara¹ Ramanayya, *ibid*, p. 134. This is mere imagination. B A S.

1. 57 *A of 1901*, S. I. I. VII. No. 232, p. 118, *op. cit.*, Swamī-
vannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, IV. pp. 28, 278.

monarchs, we may be permitted to review briefly the epigraphs which deal with this capital of the Ālupas.

The Vijayanagara viceroys continued to govern Tuḷuva from the same city of Bārakūru. This is proved by an inscription found in that city of the times of Harihara Rāya II, in which it is related that, while that monarch was in his *neleviḍu* of Dorasamudra (śrī-vīra Harihara Mahārāyaru Dorasamudrada neleviḍinoḷage), his viceroy, the servant at his feet, Mahāpradhāna Mallapa Oḍeyar was in the *rājadhāni* of Bārakūru governing the Tuḷu, Hayve, and Koṅkan kingdoms.

The date of the above record is given thus.—*S'aka var(u)sa 130(9) sandu 10 neya Vartamāna (Prabhava) samvasarada Āśādha S'udha 1 Sōmavara* which corresponds to A.D. 1387 Monday the 17th June.¹

The importance of Bārakurū is apparent from a stone inscription found in a ruined *basti* leading to the Coḷikēri in Bārakūru. It is dated *S'aka 1321 neya Varta-*

1. 154 of 1901, S. I. I. VII. No. 347, p. 203. Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.*, IV, p. 376. Here comes a figure which cannot be satisfactorily identified. A stone inscription found in Miṃyāra in the Kārkala tāluka, mentions a Vīra Camnarasa. It records a *sarvamānya* gift of land by Kōṭṭi Śeṭṭi *alias* Binnāni, and others, for offerings to the temple of Mahādeva at Miṃyāra. The date of the record is given as Śaka 1307 Krōdhana Kārtika 1, Sunday which works out correctly to A.D. 1385, October the 29th Sunday. (531 of 1927-8; *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 59). Who this Vīra Camnarasa Odeya was, cannot be made out. Two copies of a copper-plate grant found in the Subrahmanya temple at Kukke in the Puttūru tāluka, represent Mādhava Rāya as lord of Gōvapura. His gifts to some Brahmins for the worship of the god Subrahmanya are recorded in the grant. The grant is dated Kali 4488, Śaka 1309 (A.D. 1386), and contains many chronological details. 387 of 1927-8; 2 of 1928-9; *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 82.

māna (*Pramādi*) *samvatsara Śravaṇa Ś'u. 1* Friday which corresponds to A.D. 1399 July the 4th Friday.¹ It represents the *Mahāpradhāna* Nāgarasa Oḍeya in Bārakūru. That viceroy together with the sixteen *śettis* of the ten streets of Bārakūru (*Bārakūru-hattu kēri hadināru mandī śettikāraru*), the 770 *eḷemes* or nobles (*² ēḷu-nūru-eppattu yeleme-vōḷagadavaru*), the prominent citizens (*² hañjamānada haluru*), the sixty Ballāḷas, the representatives of Mūḍila Niḍambūru, the Nāḍavas, the Nāyakas of the four *grāmas* and of the four *nāḍus* (not named), and others, made a stone grant.²

1. Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* IV. p. 401.

2. 154 C of 1901; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 350, p. 207. An inscription dated A.D. 1372 mentions the death of Āluva *Mahāprabhu* Tavanidhi Brahmā's wife Laksmī Bommakkā. Another record dated A.D. 1379 mentions the death of the Āluva *Mahāprabhu* Head Jewel of the (Āraga) Eighteen Kampana Tavanidhi Bamma (*i.e.*, Brahmā) Gauda himself. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 199, 196, pp. 31-32. Evidently the name Āluva was still held in high esteem outside Tuluva in the fourteenth century A.D. B. A. S.

CHAPTER IV

VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

Summary —1. The story of Mayūravarmā according to Tuluva traditions as embodied in the *Grāmapaddhati*. 2. The division of the land into thirty-two *grāmas*. 3. The usage at Kōṭa and a picture of the General Assembly. 4. Punishments. 5. The origin of the story of Mayūravarmā Its Buddhist source. The story outside Tuluva. The story in epigraphs and its popularity in the twelfth century A.D. 6. Historicity of the families mentioned in the *Grāmapaddhati*. 7. Criticism of the *Grāmapaddhati*. Its date. 8. The story of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya. Three versions of the story. 9. Criticism of the story and the determination of the date of the introduction of the *aliya santāna* law the *aliya santāna* law was legalized in Tuluva only in the fifteenth century.

1. THE STORY OF MAYŪRAVARMĀ

Tuluva tradition is embodied in a work called *Grāmapaddhati* and in folk-songs styled *Pāḍadānas*. Of these shall we deal here with the former. The *Grāmapaddhati* ascribes the division of the land into *grāmas* or villages to Mayūravarmā, and the introduction of the *aliya santāna kattu*, or the law of inheritance through the nephew, to Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya. The story concerning the remarkable figure of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya generally follows that of Paraśurāma in most of the versions of the *Grāmapaddhati*. This work is, according to Tuluva notions, a part of *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāna*. A minute examination of all the details given in the *Grāmapaddhati* which differs both in style and matter

in different parts of the district, is outside the limits of the present treatise. It is a work of considerable length with digressions which, although interesting, are beside our purpose. We shall, therefore, restrict ourselves to those few points in the *Grāmapaddhati* which are necessary for a proper understanding of the history of ancient Tuluva.

In most versions of the *Gārmapaddhati* Mayūravarmā is abruptly introduced many years after Paraśurāma. He is said to have belonged to the Solar race and to have been the son of Hemāngada and Suśilā. One version says that Vasu, the father of Suśilā, was the son of Kadamba who is said to be the son of Parameśvara and Pārvatī.¹

Other versions give an interesting but by no means convincing account of the origin of Mayūravarmā. These relate that king Manivarmā ruled over Banavasī, and that his sons were Kanakvarmā and Viravarmā. Once king Śibi of the Pāndyadeśa suddenly invaded Tuluva, and imprisoning Manivarmā ruled over the land. At this Manivarmā's queen fled with her two children to a town called Vārakūla (Bārakūru). Here they witnessed a strange phenomenon. On Hemāngada having died issueless, the royal elephant wandered over the streets with a garland in its trunk in search of a king. The two lads were surprised at this but were told by Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya, who had made Bārakūru his abode, the following:—That the elephant

1. *The Puttīre Version*, Adhyāya 2, vv. 9-14.

would garland only those who belonged to the four *varnāśramas*, but not to those who professed the Jaina creed; that in the north-east of the city of Bārakūru there was a mango tree on which lived a peacock (*mayūra*) who was guarded by its old friend a black serpent; and that the elephant would select only him who could kill the peacock and drink its blood. On hearing this, Vīravarmā killed the peacock and was duly garlanded by the elephant.¹

He was then only fourteen years old. The people acclaimed him as Lokāditya Mayūravarmā. His spiritual adviser Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya taught him how to govern, and particularly instructed him to win the sympathy of the Jainas who had become powerful in the land. It was also at the suggestion of the same ascetic that Lokāditya Mayūravarmā brought Brahmans from Ahicchatra.

This version next mentions particularly the following:—that Lokāditya Mayūravarmā lost the favour of his elder brother Kanakavarmā who, disgusted with Vīravarmā for having killed the peacock, left Bārakūru with an army and went to Banavasi which he conquered. Here Kanakavarmā ruled like a devout Jaina.

On Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya telling Lokāditya Mayūravarmā that his land was unholy because there were no Brahmans in it, the ruler went to Ahicchatra and brought

1. This is known as *pañcadīvyādhivāsa* which is mentioned in the *Jātaka* stories. For detailed references see Penzer's note on *ibid.*, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, V pp. 175-77, VII. p. 218.

Brahman colonists. He stationed them in the following thirty-two *grāmas*;—

<i>Locality</i>	<i>No of Grāmas</i>
Kadambakānana	3
Gokarna	4
Skandapura on the bank of the Śuktimatī	2
Gajapurī on the southern bank of the Sītā	2
Ajapurī	4
Near Ananteśa	10
On the north bank of the Netrāvati ...	7
Total ...	32

The Mangalore version adds here that Lokāditya Mayūravarmā after assigning the thirty-two *grāmas* to the Ahicchatra Brahmans, placed at their disposal Nāyar people from Malabar to aid them in the conduct of their agricultural operations.¹

1. *The Puttige version, The Mangalore version* Traces of the Nāyar settlements in Tuḷuva are still seen. There is a tank of the Nāyars called *Nāyar-kere* in the Kappettu-*grāma* of Uḍipī. The stones of this tank were removed to build the famous Madhva *sarovara* in the same town (of Uḍipī). In Niṭṭūru in the same tāluka, about one hundred yards to the south of the Niṭṭūru household, there is a Nāyara-*maṭha*. In Brahmāvūru in the same taluka are a few Nāyar families, ten in all, these are the Rokkenāyar, Elenāyar, etc.

Mayūravarmā abdicated in order to do penance, as the whole world was pervaded by Kalī. He left the kingdom and the little prince Candrāṅgada in the charge of the ministers, and retired to the forest. The Brahmans of the thirty-two *grāmas* met together and deliberated thus:—“This kingdom is now without a ruler, the ministers being all powerful. Let us return to the much-longed-for Ahicchatra.” So saying they left Tuluva and went back to the land of their birth. And their servants, who are mentioned in Puttige version as the natives of Gorāstra, forsook their fields, and remained outside their villages.

2 DIVISION OF THE LAND INTO THIRTY-TWO GRĀMAS

On his accession to the throne, Candrāṅgada enquired after the Brahmans, who had been brought by his father Śikhivarmā or Mayūravarmā, and was told that they had left Tuluva for Ahicchatra. Candrāṅgada himself went to Ahicchatra, and asked them why they had left his district (*visaya*), and assured them that he would redistribute the households and *grāmas* and grant

In Mūlki in the Mangalore tāluka, is a Nāyar temple of the god Tistava. One species of land tenure in Tuluva noticed by Sir Thomas Munro is the Nāyar-*gēni*. This is specially found in and near Bārakūru. Munro reckoned this kind of tenure to be more secure than the *suddha-mūla-gēni* or tenure by simple purchase. Read *Selections from the Records of the Collectorate of South Canara, Letters of Sir Thomas Munro relating to the Revenue Administration of Canara*. Among the Mundāla Holeyas of Tuluva is a song concerning the Nāyar people. Cf. Saletore, *J. A.*, LVI p. 76. B A. S.

them the right of tonsure(*grāmesu grhabhedāni cūḍam tathaiṣa-ca cihnnam kariṣyāmi*). He then divided the *grāmas* and households in the following manner —

The sixteen Western <i>Grāmas</i>	The sixteen Eastern <i>Grāmas</i>
1. Kārevūru (Tārevūru) (4 households, according to the Puttige version, but 8 in other versions)	1. Śrīpāḍi (5 households)
2. Varkāḍi (Orkāḍi) (8 households)	2. Voḍila (Baḍilu, Coḍir) (2 households)
3. Marane (2 households)	3. Nāla (Nāla) (2 households) (Omitted in the Puttige version)
4. Kolavinādu (Koḷanāḍu) (2 households)	4. Kārandūru (Kārandāru) (2 households)
5. Pāḍi (4 households)	5. Ujjre (Ujjari) (16 households in the Puttige version, 8 in other versions)
6. Kodila (Kūḍalu, Kuḍila) (4 households)	6. Kunyamārga (Kunni-mārga, Kuñjamārga) (8 households)
7. Magebailu (Mogebailu) (4 households)	7. Kokkaḍa (Kokkōḍu) (4 households)
8. Nīrumārga (Nīrmārga) (6 households in the Puttige version; 8 in others)	8. Rāmiñjūru (Rāmiñja, Rājakuñja) (2 households in the Puttige version; 7 in other versions)
9. Mittanādu (Mittunāḍu) (4 households)	9. Pude (4 households)

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| <p>10. Śrīmantūru (Śīmantūru) (9 in the Puttige version; 8 in others)</p> <p>11. Tenagaḷe (Kenakaḷa, Tenakaḷa) (4 households in the Puttige version; 8 in other versions)</p> <p>12. Śivabelli (Śivabelki) (120 households in the Puttige version; 6 in other versions)</p> <p>13. Brahmapura (Ajapuri) (8 in the Puttige version; 4 in other versions)</p> <p>14. Niruvāra (Nīlāvāra) (8 in the Puttige version, 4 in other versions)</p> <p>15. Kūtaka (Kūta, Kūte) (8 households)</p> <p>16. Talapāḍi (Kandāvāra, Skandapura) (2 households)</p> | <p>10. Balapa (Belapa, but in the Puttige version Ballamañje) (3 households)</p> <p>11. Ernāḍu (Puttige version gives it as Baināḍu) (4 households)</p> <p>12. Iḍekedu (Iḍake) (6 households)</p> <p>13. Kemiñṇe (Kemiñja) (1 household)</p> <p>14. Pāliñje (Pādiñje, Pāviñje) (2 households)</p> <p>15. Śiriyāḍi (Śiripāḍi in the Puttige version) (5 households)</p> <p>16. Koḍipāḍi (7 in the Puttige version; 5 in other versions)</p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
- N.B.*—The Puttige version adds Ōmañjūru *grāma* with 9 households.
- N.B.*—The Puttige version omits the names of Nāḷa *grāma* and Ernāḍu *grāma*.¹

In the western *grāmas* there were 206 households; in the eastern 73 households; and between these two classifications there were 21 *grāmas* which belonged to

1. *The Puttige version*, Ch. 30. Reference to *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa*, Ch. 30 is given here.

what were called the *avāntarabheda*. This term was evidently given to the secondary households. Thus in all there were, according to the Puttige version, 300 households, and 326, according to the other versions.

These households were divided into the following sections:—those of the *Agnihotris*, the *Smārtas*, the *Bhāttas*, the *Tantris*, the *Panditas*, the *Pakṣanāthas*, the *Ballālas*, the *Grāmanis*, and the *Adhivāsīs*. A detailed account of these will be given in the appendix.

Of the Mūla or original Brahmins, the *Grāmapaddhati* mentions the following.—Nāyaka, Kini, Poi, Prabhu, Bhakta, Bāḷiga, Śyānubhoga, and Bhaṇḍāri, who are styled Brahmins of the Koṅkanadeśa.

The story of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya is then narrated in most of the versions of the *Grāmapaddhati*, but is not to be found in the Puttige version.

The division of the land into *grāmas* together with the households was one feature of the village organization of ancient Tuluva. Another feature which may be noted is the prominence which was given to usage; while a third feature was the conduct of business in the General Assembly. The importance of usage is best seen in the history of Kōta *grāma*. It is true that some of the usages mentioned in the *Grāmapaddhati* have now become obsolete. But all the same it is interesting to observe that there were sixteen *maryādegala* or usages in Kōta. They were the following:—*pakṣakavāta*; *bhāvige jōḍu kambha* (double pillars for the well); *naḍe-maḍi*; *naḍe-vādyā*; *beḷu-koḍe* (white umbrella), *aidu-*

mole dana (a cow with an udder that has five teats); *hagalu divatige* (a torch by day-light); *atta muridu biḍḍa akki* (rice that has fallen down from the ceiling), *iḷidu hōda henṇu* (a girl who has passed puberty), *kattri vīlya* (betel leaf offered with arms crossing each other, i.e., the right arm brought to the left side, the left, to the right), *manege suttu pāgāru* (a wall round the house): *kauḍige mane* (?), *eda-muḍi* (?), *madana-kai* (a crutch-like stand); and *mukha-maṇṭapa* (?).¹

The *Puttige version*, however, has the following to give concerning the sixteen *maryādegālu* which it calls *kattalegālu*:— *atta-muridu*, *aimoleti*, *tappu ganti*, *kengoda*, *jōdu mara kūpa*, *tuḷā śrankhala*, *gamana śringa vādyā*, *naḍe-maḍi*, *divatige*, *paksakavāta*, *tōrana*, *dīpa-mālā-sthambha*, *dōlā maṇca*, *eddu banda hennu*, *ratna kambali*, *cchatra* ²

Important centres were likewise established for other purposes. Thus Kāṅgōḍu (Kāñjinōḍu) and Kāsaragōdu were the *kōḍus*; Kelavanādu (Kolanādu) and Nalvattanādu were the *nāḍus*, Baindūru (Baidūru) and Bhaṭṭakala were the *bīḍus*; Kaḍari (Kaḍkarī=Vitthala) and Kārkaḷa were the *divānas*; Cittupāḍi and Niḍam-būru were the *paksanāthas*; the (capitals of the) Cautas and the Bangas were the *dharma-sthānas*; Bārakūru and Mangalūru (Manga Kadamba) were the *simhāsanas*; Kadare (Kadri) and Kāntāvāra were the *hone-sthānas* (i.e., the places where bail could be secured?); (the) Śuktī and the Mukti were the *gaḍis* or the boundaries;

1. *The Mangalore version*

2. *The Puttige version.*

the Sahyādrī (also called in one version Sīmhādri) and the Śaradi (the western ocean) were the *mēres* or limits and Kōta and Ananteśvara were the centres of meeting.

But in the thirty-two *grāmas* the meeting place for both the Śaivites and the Vaisnavites was Kroḍamaṇḍala (i.e., Śankaranārāyaṇa in the Kundāpūru taluka). But in the Mangalore version, however, it is related that all questions concerning the *śāstras*, *mantras*, *tantras*, *smṛti-sāra*, *vedas*, calumny, hypocrisy, prostitution, falsehood, dereliction of religious duties, etc., were to be settled in the *kūṭa-sthalas* or centres of assembly obviously at Kōta and Ananteśvara. Seven persons called *smṛtikāras* were appointed as judges to settle all cases in the thirty-two *grāmas*. They were Munnūrāya, Alevūrāya Uppārana, Kallūrāya, Tāletāya, Uḍupa and Mogerāya.¹

The same version then gives us interesting information about the manner in which a General Assembly (*jaḡat-kūṭa*) was summoned to hear an appeal against the unjust decision given by the following judges:—Anna Ugramballi, Anna Ōramballi, Anna Kuñja, Anna Mañjanōḍi, Anna Mittanōḍi, Anna Kāranta and Anna Hērala. In the General Assembly the representatives of the two *grāmas* were to take their seat in the following manner:—The representatives of the eastern *grāmas* were to face westwards and station themselves in two rows of eight each with two Ballālas on either side, the Pandits on the right side, and the Sabhāpatis on the

1. Cf. Hegde, *Carite*, pp. 96-97. The last name Mogerāya is omitted in the Mangalore version but mentioned by Hegde.

left, while Mañjitya (their spokesman) was to be stationed amidst four (representatives).

The representatives of the western *grāmas* were to adopt a similar procedure but with their faces turned towards the east.

The king called Mayūravarmā was then to ask permission of the deities presiding over the eastern and western regions, and take his seat on the throne with the sixty-four tributary rulers on the right and the left sides. These latter were to be stationed on the south in this manner:—In two rows of thirty-two with their face turned towards the north. (How these tributary kings were to be seated is given in a later passage thus:—On carpets were to be placed long bolsters for reclining [*loḍu*]; and Kocci Kirītādhīpati, also called Koccinātha, was to be seated on the right, and Vāmanjūru Rāmanātha, also called Rāmanta, was to be seated on the left. When these were thus seated, the Cauta and Banga chiefs were to be stationed at two posts, Talavāra and Sāvanta chieftains at two posts [*vaddi-nallu*?], the other *dhores* or nobles to be seated on either side). The king was then to ask the sanction of the General Assembly (*sabhā anujñeyan kēli koṇḍ...*).

Mañja (*i. e.*, Mañjitāya) was next to summon the four Ballālas, who having understood, were to communicate (the case) to the Paṇḍits and the Sabhāpatis, who were to explain (it) to the Pakṣanāthas. The Pakṣanāthas were to stand up and address themselves to the *vidvat-mahājana* (*i. e.*, the General Assembly of the Wise),

and the General Assembly was to say " So be it ! " (i. e., to give its opinion on the case under discussion).

The opinion of the General Assembly being thus told to Mañja, he was to communicate it to the king (who gave his final decision).

The same version of the *Grāmapaddhati* continues to narrate the following concerning the sets of officials who were entrusted with particular functions in the General Assembly. Thus, the Adhivāsis were to give information or instruction (*upadeśa*); the Jannis, various opinions (? *tarale* in the original, evidently a mistake for *tarada*, for *tarale* means a girl !), the Grāmaṇis, to investigate (*vicāra*); the Ballāḷas, to administer (*ballāḷara āḍaḷite*); the Bhaṭṭas, to arbitrate (*pañcāyitike*); the Pandits, to decide; the Sabhāpatīs, to improve upon or to correct (*tidduvaḷike*), the Pakṣanāthas, to punish and to protect (*śikṣe rakṣe*); the Smārtas learned in the Vedas, to cite the canonical texts (*S'rauta smārtara nityānasāra* ?); and the Tantrīs to decide whether the citations were accurate (? *tantriḡaḷa āgamoktīnirṇaya*)¹

It may be observed here that another version of the *Grāmapaddhati* hailing from Udipi states that the Kōta Mahā grāma had an assembly of 40,000 citizens.²

The Manglore version contains a few more details concerning what is called *jagat-maṇḍala* (or the *mahā-jagat*). It relates thus:—In the *jagat-maṇḍala* was Mañja

1. *The Mangalore version.*

2. Version supplied to me by Paṇḍit Venkaṭadāsa Ācārya of Udipi. B. A. S.

to be stationed (*Jaganmanmaladalli Mañja sthāna*); on the east of Mañja were the Pakṣanāthas to be stationed, on the left side of the Paṇḍits the Sabhāpatis were to be stationed; this was how they were to be stationed. The representatives of the four *grāmas* beginning with Śrī-pāḍi were to be stationed to the north of the Paṇḍits; those of the four *grāmas* beginning with Ujjare, to the west of the preceding; those of the four *grāmas* of the east, to the south of the preceding; and those of the four *grāmas* beginning with Iḍekedu, to the east of the preceding. In this way the assemblies of the representatives of the western *grāmas* were to be in the north-east of Mañja, while keeping always the right side towards him were Kuñjaṇṇāya, Kauḍambāḍitāya, Talepāḍitāya, and Mañjunōḍitāya. And to his south were the seats of royalty in the midst of which there was to be the council of the king.¹

These detailed notices of the manner in which they conducted their business in the General Assembly are not available in inscriptions. But from epigraphical evidence cited in the previous pages, it may definitely be stated that there were more than two or three large General Assemblies in Tuḷuva. We have also seen that in the conduct of public affairs, the people co-operated either with the rulers themselves or with their highest officials. The existence of the General Assemblies and the close co-operation of the

1. *The Mangalore version.*

State with the citizens in ancient Tuluva, therefore, is proved beyond doubt.

Indeed, the two following stone inscriptions conclusively show that the earlier General Assemblies continued under the Vijayanagara Emperors. Both of them were found in the Gubbukōne Gopālakṛṣṇa temple at Kanyāna in the Kundāpūru tāluka. And they fall within the reign of Harihara Rāya II. The earlier of these is dated Śaka 1306, Raktāksi, Jyestha, Śu. 2, Sunday which corresponds to A.D. 1384, May, Sunday the 22nd. The Vijayanagara viceroy *Mahāpradhāna* Jakkarasa Odeyar governed from Bārakūru. The epigraph in question registers some privileges made by the Jananis (i.e., Jannis) of Rājādi-Bellatūru to the *maḥā-jagat*, evidently of the same locality.¹ The other is record dated Śaka 1320, Īśvara Phālguna, Ba. 10 Saturday. The date agrees with A.D. 1398 March Wednesday the 13th, the weekday not corresponding. This inscription registers a sale of land to a certain Lingarasa by the six Jananis of Nālkūru of Rājādi-Kanyāna (i. e., Bellatūru) and by the fifty *jagat*, subject to certain conditions.²

4. PUNISHMENTS

While the existence of General Assemblies and of corporate activities on the part of the Tuluvas is thus proved by the epigraphs as well as by the *Grāmāpaddhati*, we have to see what actually were the punishments

1. 357 of 1930-31 ; Swamikannu, *Ind Ephem.* IV. p. 370.

2. 359 of 1930-31 , Swamikannu, *ibid*, p. 398.

meted out to culprits, in addition to those referred to in the epigraphs, either by the people themselves or by the king in conjunction with the citizens. We shall base our remarks on the Puttige version of the *Grāmapaddhati*, and on personal observation of affairs that took place in recent years.

The Puttige version of the *Grāmapaddhati* contains many examples of punishments given to culprits. Of these we shall select three types—the decision of the Muḷlūru *grāma* people, the punishments given to the Twenty-four Toṭṭilu *grāma* people,¹ and the famous Kūta (Kōta)-Kōṭīśvara dispute which is remembered even today by the people. To these we shall add the actual working of a village organization in our own days.

Muḷlūru was one of the impure *grāmas* (*pātitya-grāmam*) situated to the south of the Śuktimatī or the Gangāvalī river. It is also called Moda *grāma*. Here were two Śūdra brothers Mudda and Kunda who, by the way, appear elsewhere as Jaina princes. They were wealthy and pious. Once eight Brahmans belonging to the thirty-two *grāmas*, approached these two brothers, along with their families, desirous of getting riches from the two wealthy brothers. The Brahmans blessed

1. This is a curious name of village. In the original the word "Twenty-four Toṭṭilu" is given in the margin of the palm-leaf Ms. Obviously the culprits, whose history we shall narrate, belonged first to the Ujjare *grāma*, and because they settled after their expulsion from that village at Toṭṭilulu, the latter place came to be known as "Toṭṭilu of the Twenty-four." No such name is met with today although Toṭṭilu exists. B. A. S.

them, praised them in many ways, and secured much wealth from them. Here they lived for twelve years in peace.

Once the elder brother Mudda wishing to seek a bride, with the help of his relatives, pitched upon a girl who lived half a *yojana* away. On the wedding day, however, he could not find bearers who could carry his palanquin to the bride's house (*śibikā vāhakaḥ kō'pi nāsti atra viśaye bata*). Mudda then consulted the Brahmans, and since he said, "I am your slave, aid the prosperity of my family," out of pity and love, the eight Brahmans agreed to carry his palanquin to the house of his bride (*aṣṭāpadena ayutām aṣṭau te śibikām dadhaḥ*). On the completion of his marriage ceremony, Mudda returned to his village. In return for their kindness, he gave them various clothes, ornaments and 100 coins (*śata-prasyam niṣkāni*).

The Brahmans, however, hid these presents in places outside the village before entering it. The people of the thirty-two *grāmas* saw these sinners, and in a rage belaboured them mercilessly (*patitān āgatān drṣtvā grāmasthāḥ krodha mūrcchitāḥ daṇḍamādāya hastena nijaghnuh tām*.)

The culprits hurried to their Śudra protector, who is called now a *Vrśāla*. He consoled them by promising them a gift of a *grāma* full of cattle and other necessities. Accordingly in the presence of the god Śimhēśa, Mudda gave them the *grāma*, cattle, houses, and ornaments. Then he went on a pilgrimage. And the

Brahmans, who had been ostracized by their brethren of the thirty-two *grāmas*, lived in their new *grāma* which they divided into eight plots among themselves

These eight Brahman were considered to be outside the pale of friends, the *guru*, and the family (*kulahināḥ parityaktāḥ guru-bandhu-janaiḥ saha*). The people of the thirty-two *grāmas* condemned them as sinners (*dvātriṃśat grāma-vāsibhyo ninditāḥ pāpa-kārinah*). Further they were condemned to eat the food of the Śudras (*sadā S'ūdrāṇna nīratāḥ*). Their very sight made one impure, and the atonement (*prāyaścitta*) prescribed for the sin of looking at them was the following:— The man who looked at them should see the bright sun for a long time (*caṇḍāṃśo darśanaṃ paraṃ*), and he should worship the great god Nṛsiṃha. He who talked about them would never be able to fulfil any work !

The affairs in the Twenty-four Tottīlu *grāma* were more interesting. In the reign of a king called Candradatta, a great car festival (*dhvajotsava*) was held in that *grāma*. All the people including the Śabaras attended the great festival. Some people of the Ujjare *grāma* abducted a Śabara girl who had got herself lost in the crowd (*Ujj re grāmakāḥ kecit vañcayitvā atha bālīkām*); and carrying her off to their village, in due course, gave her in marriage to a Brahman youth of another village. The Śabara parents bemoaned her loss in vain.

Years passed by, and the Śabarī bore to the Brahman a girl and two boys. Once again the same wicked

Brahmans (*atīva dhūrtāḥ viprāḥ*) came to witness the car festival in that same *grāma*, along with the Śabarī and her children. Her Śabara father and mother too came to see the same festival. On meeting her parents, the Śabarī maiden cried out loudly at which her mother wept widely and her father attempted to seize her. But her Brahman husband, encouraged by his wicked friends, cried out that his wife was being seduced by a Nīca (a Śabara).

The case came up for hearing before the king who summoned the Śabara father, who is now called a Pulinda, and asked him why he had seized the wife of Brahman. To this he represented the whole case, and swore that he would undergo any ordeal to prove his words. He then went to his hut along with his wife

The king turned to the culprits and addressed them in severe terms. Frightened at this, they confessed their crime but begged to be forgiven. Just and generous as the king was, he caused all their belongings to be brought and had them given to the representatives of the *grāmas* (*grāmasthā*) with the order that they were to retain or abandon the goods belonging to the Brahmans as they thought best. He then returned to his palace.

The representatives of the Thirty-two *grāmas* bowed their head in shame. They met hurriedly together and decided to do the following — On the neck of the Brahmans (who were a family of twenty-four) of the Ujjare *grāma*, they put red (flower) garlands and expel-

led them to the outskirts of the village. They then purified the ground (over which the sinners had walked) with cow-dung water, and performed their *śrāddha* or obsequies according to the *kumbha* rites, declaring that they should not be allowed to live any more in the Thirty-two *grāmas* :—

*atha-rājā mahā-prājñah satya-dharmaratah sudhī ।
 ādāya teśāṃ sarvasvaṃ grāmasthebhya pradattavān ॥
 parityāga-aparityāgaṃ taiḥ-eva tu vidhiyatām ।
 iti-uktvā nṛpatih dhīmān jagāma nija-mandiraṃ ॥
 dvātrimśat grāma-nīlayā vṛlayānata mastakāḥ ॥
 sametya sahasā tatra pāpīnāṃ grāma-vāsīnāṃ ।
 tasyāḥ samparkīnāṃ rājan catur-vimśati-kutumbīnāṃ ॥
 catur-vimśati-arbhakānāṃ dolaṇ-ādāya satvaram ।
 teśāṃ galeśu niksīpya rakta mālyāni yānīca ॥
 s(te)śāṃ grāmabahir deśe tadvat gomaya vārinā ।
 tathā visarjayāmāsuḥ (mahā) bhāgā dhṛḍau vrthāḥ ॥
 tebhya śrāddham tatah krtvā vidhivat kumbha-saṃjnakaṃ ॥
 dvātrimśat grāma madh(y)esu na tebhyaṃ sthānam-īdrśām ॥*

The *Grāmapaddhati* narrates that those sinners still wander homeless (*sthānahīnāḥ*), abandoned (*parityaktāḥ*) (by their castemen), and that they are forbidden the daily rites of worship (*sarve karma bahiskṛtāḥ*).

The Kūta-Kōtīśvara dispute is celebrated in the history of Tuluva. This happened in the reign of king Vasu (i. e., Vibudhavasū of the Ālupa family). King Vasu, as we have already seen, was celebrated for his good qualities. On one occasion there occurred a dispute between the great *kūtasthas* (of Kōta evidently)

and the Kōṭīśvaras, concerning the village boundary, and the income (rent?) amounting to sixteen *prasthas* payable therefrom:—

*kadācit abhavat vādam Kūta-sthānam(nām) mahātmanām||
tatha Kōṭīśvara-sthānām sīmā vyattasta kāraṇam ||
tadāvai hema sambandham soḍaśa prastha hetukaṃ ||*

The dispute dragged on for some time after which it was placed before the king. Notwithstanding the wily importunities of the Kōṭīśvaras, the learned king, who was proficient in state policy (*sa rājā nītimān vāgmī*), after due deliberation addressed the assembly (*sabhā*) thus:—“We shall pray to the goddess Kāśyapī. She will decide the proper from the improper. Where-soever there is sin, there you will burn.”

*‘Kāśyapīm prārthayisyāmaḥ vadati eṣā śubha-aśubham |
kaluṣam yatra yatra asi tatra tatra dahisyasi ||*

Then having ordered his officers (*cārān ājñāpayat*) to summon atonce the representatives of the Thirty-two *grāmas*, who were well versed in their own *dharma* (*dvātriṃśat grāma nilayān sve sve dharme vyavasthitān*), and who were exceedingly wealthy, respectful, and worthy of being honoured, the king addressed them thus;—“Tomorrow it shall be decided.”

That very night some cunning Kōṭīśvaras came to the village boundary, quickly dug a pit, hid a wretched (and doomed) man in it, and covering him with earth (*kṣonim khātva yāmāmātram kunde kuṇḍita karmanah | niḥsipya parasam kaścit śikātam te prapūrayan ||*), before down returned to their houses pretending innocence.

(On the morrow) the representatives of the Thirty-two *grāmas* went to the king, and blessing him requested him to come to the boundary line. Surrounded by Brahmans learned in the *tantras*, the king went to the boundary of the village accompanied by auspicious music and with materials for worship. All the people including the Kōtīśvaras were present on the occasion.—

tadā Vasuḥ dvijaiḥ sārddham śīmāntāṃ prayayau mudā |
sangrhya pūjāsambhāraṃ daivajñaiḥ tāntrikair saha ||
tauryantrikena samyuktah Kōta Kōtīśvarair saha ||
pūjāṃ cakāra dharanīm gandha-puṣpa-aksatādhūbhiḥ ||

(At the appointed place) the king worshipped the earth with *naivedya*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa*, etc., in the customary manner, and prayed to the goddess (Earth) with folded hands thus:—“Auspicious goddess ! you know (best) whether I have committed sin or benevolence ! Whether done wilfully or through ignorance, forgive me ! In the proper investigation by the people (*śodhanāya drṣṭā nṛnām*), let it be well pronounced by you whether this holy region (*kṣetra*) belongs to the Kūta-sthāna or to Kōtīśvara ! ” So saying he remained silent.

And the unfortunate man in the pit intending to bring ruin on himself as well on the Kōtīśvaras, cried out loudly—“This region, I assure you, belongs to the Kōtīśvaras (*idam Kōtīśvara sthānam braveham na atra samśayah*) ! ”

The Kōtīśvaras were jubilant but from the heavens came a voice (of the goddess), in great friendship to

her husband the god Kōtīśvara (*nija bhartuh sneha-eva tathā Kotīśvarasya ca*), and afraid of the sin committed by the people. It was the voice of the goddess Bhārati, who making herself visible said thus —“This speech does not belong to the earth : it is that of a human being ! The Kōtīśvaras are deceivers and wicked : I curse them, O king, at the feet of Śiva !”

*Kōtīśa sthānājāḥ sarve vañcakāḥ pāpacāranāḥ ।
asmin arthe mahā-rājā śāpamī Ś'iva pādayoḥ ॥*

The goddess, who is now called Bhagavatī, then vanished leaving the king Vasu surprised and stupified. For in the pit which opened before his eyes, was the body of a man turned into a mass of flesh full of worms !

*grāmasthānām purastāt tu bhūmim khātva pradṛṣṭavān ।
krimi-sankulitaṁ māmsabhūtaṁ pūrusa viḡhrahaṁ ॥*

The king was deeply moved, but recovering himself ordered the confiscation of the property of the culprits, which he handed over to the representatives of the *grāmas*, saying—“Decree what is fit to be retained, and what, to be rejected !”

*sa rājā vismayah bhūtvā krodhāt samrakta locanaḥ ।
grāmasthānām purastāt tu sarvasvam apahrīya ca ॥
asatya vādinah (nām) tatra grāmasthebhya pradattavān ।
parityāga-aparityāgaṁ taiḥ-eva vidhīyataṁ ॥*

Then the representatives of the Thirty-two *grāmas* decided that as the culprits had lied, and had thereby become polluted, homeless, disreputable, and devoid of their daily rites, they were not entitled to (the

benefits of) marriage (and other social functions) in the community.

asāksivādīnaḥ yūyam patitāḥ pāpāntrītāḥ |
anāsthāna-aṣṭāghanīyā-sarvakarma bahiskrtāḥ ||
asmin grāme vivāhādi varjanīyaḥ bhaviṣyati |

Thus were the Kōṭīśvaras denied the privileges of society, and thus did they wander at will till they came across a great personage of resplendent countenance, who brought them back into the fold of the cultured society of Vaiṣṇavism. We shall describe in minute detail this great figure, and how he converted them into his religion. The Brahmans thus purified were now permitted by the king to live in a *grāma* which cannot be identified. But we may note in what manner they were held by the people : one became impure by merely looking at them (*tesām darśana-mātreṇa pātityam labhate narah*). The atonement (*prāyaścittaṃ*) recommended for this fault was that one should abandon food on six occasions (*prāyaścittaṃ ahaṃ vakse sasta kāla āsanaṃ tyajet*).¹

Barring the reference to the goddess Earth, the procedure in the above case is strikingly similar to the one mentioned by Kautalya in his *Arthaśāstra*. The general conformity of Tuḷuva judicial procedure to the ancient injunctions as laid down by Kautalya permit us to dwell at some length on the rules enunciated by that lawgiver. We have the following in the *Arthaśāstra* concerning boundary disputes :—

1. *The Puttige version.*

“ In all disputes regarding the boundary between any two villages, neighbours or elders of five or ten villages (*pañca-grāmī daśa-grāmī va*) shall investigate the case on the evidence to be furnished from natural or artificial boundary marks.”

In this detail the Tuluva procedure in judicial was in accordance with the principles laid down by Kautalya. But in regard to the punishments, the Tuḷuva ruler mentioned above was stricter and less merciful than the judge mentioned in the *Arthasāstra*. For Kautalya writes the following.—“ If the boundary marks just described, are not found, a fine of 1,000 panas shall be imposed (on the misleading or guilty person)...The king shall beneficially distribute among others those holdings which have no boundary marks or which have ceased to be enjoyed by any person.” Kautalya, therefore, makes no provision for the confiscation of the property of the culprits and its distribution among the villagers. Confiscation by the king is ordained only in the following circumstances—when disputes concerning fields remain unsettled either by the elders of the neighbourhood or of the village in the first instance, by the number of “pure and respectable” people, in the second instance, or by the disputants themselves in the last instance,—then, the “holding (*vāstu*) under dispute shall be taken possession of by the king”.¹

That the picture of a Tuḷuva village assembly may be complete, we may give a few details concerning the

1. Kautalya, *Arthasāstra*, Bk. III. Ch. IX, pp. 207-208 (Sastry, 1923).

settlement of a dispute in our own days. Notwithstanding the fact that these remarks refer to a period that is outside the purview of the treatise, yet we may be permitted to give them in order to show how ancient usage still governs the actions of the Tuluva people. The following took place in the Ulpādi *grāma*, a suburb of Mūlki in the Mangalore tāluca in 1925. Guḍḍa Nāyaka, the *pūjārī* or priest of the Guḍḍesāne devil shrine was dismissed by the *grāmasthas* or representatives of the *grāma* of Ulapāḍi. But he was reinstalled by the *sīme* or district representatives. The *grāmasthas* refused to entertain him, and hindered him from doing the work at the devil shrine. The *arasu* or king (of Bappanādu) having sided with the *sīme* representatives, excommunicated the representatives of the *grāma* for having disobeyed his orders. He decreed that no fire or food or water was to be given to the *grāma* people.

The *grāma* representatives then met in deliberation which lasted one day. They discussed the validity of the order passed by the *arasu*. At last they decided to fine him for having pronounced a judgment against them without hearing their case. The fine imposed on the *arasu* was only to the extent of eight annas, but it was paid on his behalf by some villager. And the ban on the *grāmasthas* was lifted¹.

1. The *pūjārīs* of the devil shrines in Tuluva are generally of the Baidyenāye or Billavar caste. Only in the Ekkār *māgane* the *pūjārī* is a *Vokkēlme* or a Bunt. Hence the *pūjārī* is styled a Nāyaka in the above account. The usual form which the social boycott takes is in this order—"tū nīra korade gandha prasāda korade" (Do not give

5. THE ORIGIN OF THE STORY OF MAYŪRAVARMĀ
AND ITS DATE

The above account of Mayūravarmā and of the division of the land into thirty-two *grāmas* may now be examined with the aid of epigraphs and literature. We shall be concerned here mainly with the question of the age to which this part of the *Grāmapaddhatī* relating to Mayūravarmā may be assigned.

(A) THE LEGEND OF MAYŪRAVARMĀ : ITS ORIGIN

The story of Mayūravarmā as given in the *Grāmapaddhatī* has a close resemblance to the one given in the *Nigrodha Jātaka* which we may be permitted to give in full.

Nigrodha Kumāra and Sakha Kumāra were sons of two merchants. These together with Pottika, who was the son of a tailor, after finishing their education at Takkaśīla (Taksaśīla) came to Benares, and lay down to rest in a temple. It was then the seventh day since the king of Benares had died. Proclamation was made throughout the city by beat of drum, that on the morrow the festival car would be prepared. The three comrades were lying under the tree asleep when at dawn Pottika awoke and sitting up began to chafe Banyan's (*i. e.*, Nigrodha Kumāra's) feet. Some cocks were roosting upon that tree, and the cock at the top let a dropping fall upon a cock near the bottom.

fire and water ; do not give *gandha* and *prasāda* [of the local god]). A *sime* represents nine *māganes*, as in Mülki, and below the *māgane* is a *grāma*. B. A. S.

"What is that fell upon me?", asked this cock. "Do not be angry, Sir", answered the other. "I did not mean to do it." "Oh! Do you think my body is a place for your droppings? You do not know my importance, that is plain!"

To this the other said, "Oh! Still angry though I declared that I did not mean it! And what is your importance, pray?" "Whosoever kills and eats my flesh will receive a thousand pieces of money this very morning! Is not that something to be proud of!"

"Pooh! Pooh!", quoth the other, "proud of a little like that! Why, if anyone kills me and eats of my fat, he will become a king this very morning; he that eats of the middle flesh, becomes the commander-in-chief, who eats the flesh about the bones, he will be the treasurer."

All this Pottika over heard. "A thousand pieces!" thought he. "What is that? Best to be king!"

So gently climbing the tree, he seized the cock that was roosting atop, and killed it, and cooked it in the embers; the fat he gave to Banyan, the middle part to branch (i.e., Sakha Kumāra), and himself ate the flesh that was about the bones. When they had eaten, he said, "Banyan, Sir, you will be king; Branch, Sir, you will be commander-in-chief; and as for me, I am the treasurer!" They asked him how he knew; he told them.

So about the time for the first meal of the day, he entered the city of Benares. At the house of a

certain Brahman, they received a meal of rice with *ghi* and sugar; and then emerging from the city, they entered the royal park.

Banyan lay down upon a slab of stone, the other two lay beside it. It so happened that at the moment they were just sending forth the ceremonial chariot, with the five symbols of royalty in it (*viz.*, sword, parasol, diadem, slippers, and fan). It rolled the car, and stopping, stood ready for them to enter. "Some being of great merit must be present here!", thought the chaplain to himself. He entered the park, and espied the young man; and removing the cloth from his feet he examined the marks upon them. "Why", he said, "he is destined to be king of all India, let alone of Benares!" And he ordered all the gongs and symbols to strike up.

Banyan awaking threw the cloth from his face, and saw a crowd assembled round him! He turned round and for a moment or two he lay still, then arose, and sat with his legs crossed. The chaplain fell upon one knee, saying, "Divine Being! The kingdom is thine!" "So be it!", said the youth; the chaplain placed him upon the heap of precious jewels, and sprinkled him to be king.

Thus made king, he gave the post of commander-in-chief to his friend Branch, and entered the city in great pomp; and Pottika went with them.¹

1. Cowell, *The Yātaka*, IV. pp. 24-5.

The story given in the *Grāmapaddhati* seems but to be another version of the above Buddhist account. Since we know that Tuluva was under Buddhist influence down to the tenth century A.D., it is not unreasonable to suppose that the earlier tradition current amongst the Buddhists was given a new colouring by the Tuluva Brahmans of the later ages.

While the origin of the story of Mayūravarmā is thus clear, we have now to find out the probable date when it gained popularity both in and outside Tuluva. This can be done by finding out how far it was known outside Tuluva, and whether there are any clues in contemporary epigraphs enabling us to fix the date, especially of that part of the narrative concerning Mayūravarmā's distribution of the land into *grāmas* ¹

1. The general distribution of the 32 *grāmas* among the Brahmans is not to be confounded with the allotment of four *grāmas* among certain Brahmans. *The North Kanara Gazetteer* refers to a tradition according to which Brahmans from the north were settled at Gokarna (*North Kanara Gaz* I, p. 117, n.) The writer opines that this movement of Brahmans from the north may have been consequent on the destruction of Valabhi in Gujarat by the Arabs in the seventh or eighth century A.D. This view is accepted by the compiler of the *South Canara Manual*, II p. 60.

On this question the following is found in the Puttige version of the *Grāmapaddhati*. In the polluted village called Nāga on the bank of the Cakranadi, lived the Brahmans cursed by Parasurāma. But for the uttering of the *gāyatrī* and the wearing of the sacred thread, none would have called them Brahmans—so fallen they were. The Vedic lore was forbidden to them. Once when Mayūravarmā went to Valabhi to bring learned Brahmans, he employed these Brahmans as *bōys* to carry his palanquin. *Mayūravarmā sa purā medhāvī Valabhīm prati | Rāmeṇa mṛmatāih vipraih vāhayitrā sva-vāhanam | śiṣṭhām viprām samādāya punah sa purām āvayan ||* W'en Mayūravarmā

(B) THE STORY OUTSIDE TULUVA

The traditional accounts of Banavasi in Sunda have some similar legends to narrate. The details in which the *sthala-māhātmyas* differ from the Tuluva accounts will be evident to the reader. The *sthala-māhātmyas* of the Varadanātha temple at Sunda relate the following:—That Paraśurāma after reclaiming land from the ocean, peopled it with the Boya *jāti* or fishermen caste whom he converted into Brahmins. There were one thousand of them. But since they incurred his wrath by foolishly calling for his aid when there was no need for it, they were cursed by him. They thus became a degraded race. About this time a ruler named Mayūra-varmā considering those Brahmins to be contemptible, sent for others from Ahicchatra, and located them at different places in his dominions.

The reason for this distribution of Brahmins is thus given.—In the Kadamba wilderness was born to Śiva and Pārvatī a son who was called Kadamba. It so happened that the Mulata country being without a ruler, the people placed a pot of water in the trunk of

returned from Vālabhi, these fallen Brahmins complained of the favour shown to the new-comers, and remarked that the king had assigned to the latter lands which Paraśurāma had given to the degraded Brahmins. To appease them, Mayūravarmā granted them the following four villages—Kusasthali, Śāṣṭi, Maṭṭi, and Nāga, while to the new-comers, other lands were given. In these four *grāmas* the fallen Brahmins continued to live in the selfsame manner—indifferent to the six *karmas*. (The Puttige version). No historical information is forthcoming about this colony of Brahmins in the four *grāmas*. B. A. S.

an elephant, agreeing to elect the person on whom it should be effused. The elephant went to the Kadamba wilderness, and poured it over the head of the young man there. He was proclaimed king of that country and also of Caurāṣṭradeśa. He then went to the Kerala-deśa to perform homage; and at a shrine there was made king of that land as well. His son was Mayūravarmā. He wanted new Brahmans, being dissatisfied with the degenerate Brahmans of the land.¹

Another *sthāla mātmya* of Banavasi relates the following:—Mayūravarmā established in his capital a Brahman, who had impressed him with reverence, by refusing to eat in a country wherein there were no Brahmans. Candrāṅgada, son of Mayūravarmā, invited a large colony of Brahmans and located them in Kerala, Tuḷuva, Haiga (called in this version Haigara), Koṅkan, and Karahāta. This *sthāla mātmya* tells us that Paraśurāma came *afterwards* to this country, bringing with him a colony of sixty-four families, among whom he established his own *vaidika* system. But between them and the others there was no agreement.²

(C) THE STORY OF MAYŪRAVARMĀ IN EPIGRAPHS

The above versions from Banavasi merely prove that the story of Mayūravarmā's accession to the throne and

1. Taylor, *Cat. Rais.*, III. pp. 705-706.

2. *Ibid.*, III. p. 329. The Brahmans introduced by Paraśurāma in this account are called Citapāvans, and are said to have been brought from Āryanād. The Parpara (Barbara ?) country Brahmans were called Madhinyanal. These received rights and privileges from Candrāṅgada, son of Mayūravarmā. *Ibid.*

of his distribution of the land into *grāmas* was current outside Tuḷuva.¹ But in order to ascertain the probable date of the origin of the story, we have to examine inscriptions that describe it at some length.

That the name Mayūravarmā which occurs in the Tuḷu *Grāmapaddhati* was historical, there cannot be any doubt. The palaeographical evidence supplied by the Candravallī incscription, as Dr. M. H. Krishna has conclusively proved, enables us to assign Mayūravarmā or Mayūraśramā to *circa* A.D. 258.²

An admirable account of the origin of the Kadamba family is given in the famous Tālguṇḍa (Sthanagūḍha) stone inscription assigned to *circa* A.D. 450. The story given in full in this interesting record is outside our purpose, it is enough to note that this lithic record makes Mayūravarmā a Brahman, "an eminent twice born" of the Kadamba family.³

This demolishes the assertion made in the Tuḷu *Grāmapaddhati* that Mayūravarmā was a Jaina. No mention whatsoever is made in the Tālguṇḍa record concerning the distribution of land into *grāmas* and the invitation

1. Fleet and Rice also noticed the same tradition outside Tuluva. *I. A. IV.* p. 203 (n) ; *Mys. Ins.* Intr. pp. xxxviii-xxxix. In the latter account, the heroes known to Tuluva tradition, *viz.*, Mayūravarmā Candrāṅgada, Lokāditya, and Hubāśiga, also figure.

2. *My. Arch. Rep.* for 1929, pp. 50-58. Mr. Jayaswal assigns the Candravallī inscription to *circa* A.D. 300. *History of India* 150 A.D. to 350 A.D., pp. 220-221. Mr. E. A. Pires assigns the same inscription to about A.D. 283. (*The Maṅkhāris*, p. 30. [Madras, 1934]), on grounds which are not intelligible. B. A. S.

3. *E. C. VII.* Sk. 176, pp. 113-114. See also Sk. 186, p. 121 for the name Sthānagūḍha. Read also *E. C. IV.* Intt. pp. 1-2.

extended to the Ahicchatra Brahmins. Therefore, till the middle of the fifth century A. D., the legend of the distribution of *grāmas* had not yet originated.

The epigraphs of the twelfth century A.D., however, give us a clue to the elucidation of the legend in question. An inscription assigned to A.D. 1160 of a feudatory ruler called Soyī Deva, narrates the following:—"To Rudra and the earth was born, under the auspicious Kadamba tree Mayūravarmā, the driver of his enemies, surrounded with kings doing homage. As he was born with an eye in his forehead, the crown was not bound there as it would cover it up, but it was bound on him near his knee where it would thus show well. What more can I say in his praise? As he grew up in the thick shade of a great Kadamba tree, his family became the Kadamba family. After the celebrated Mukkanna Kadamba Mayūravarmā, many kings succeeded in his line."¹

A Jaina record dated A.D. 1077 gives us a few details concerning Mayūravarmā. "A kingdom having been procured for him from the Śāsana Devī, and that forest (*vana*) being formed into a country for that prince, a crown was placed on his brow composed of peacocks' feathers, whence he obtained the name of Mayūravarmā, the revered one (or progenitor) of the Kadamba-*kula*, Trilocana.. "²

2. E. C. XI. Dg. 35, p. 44.

2. *Ibid*, VIII. Sb. 262. pp. 41-42.

From this inscription it may safely be inferred that the story of Mayūravarmā originated in the twelfth century A. D. A few more epigraphs of the same century will substantiate our assertion. In a copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1198 we have the following:—From a drop of sweat from the broad forehead of Hara, in the ground under a Kadamba tree, sprang Kadamba, with four long arms and an eye in his forehead, like another Purāri (Śiva), cultured with pure and high learning. From him was born one, subduer of the earth by the power of his sword, his own arm an invincible armour, the king Mayūravarmā.¹

With every decade a new detail seems to have been added to the story of the origin of the Kadamba-*kula*. Thus in a stone inscription dated A.D. 1174 which describes the greatness of the Kaḷacuriya king Soma, it is related that that Kalacuriya ruler together with Aśvatthāma had been to mount Kailāsa in order to worship Śiva. He had previously worshipped Śiva with the desire of obtaining a son. When filled with distress, Śiva assured him saying "Do not be distressed!" Some Kadamba flowers fell down as if plucked. Seeing which king Soma worshipped Bhava with the flowers. On his doing so, Śiva granted him the boon. And two sons were born to king Soma.²

1. E. C. VII. Sk. 117, p. 84. In this copper-plate Mayūravarmā is said to have had Ravivarmā as his son, Ravivarmā's son being Nṛgavarmā, etc.

2. *Ibid*, Sk. 236, pp. 135-136.

From the above it will be evident that the Kadamba flowers were connected with the Kalacuriya kings as well, although these do not figure in the Tuluva accounts. That the legend of Mayūravarmā and the peacock's feathers was current in the twelfth century A.D. will be proved by the following stone inscription dated A.D. 1189 which describes the greatness of Kāva Deva. It opens with Gaurī sporting in the Himya (Himālaya) mountain and Hara falling in love with her "From Hara's virtue being absorbed by the earth, was born one who was a portion of Girīśa, with a frontal eye and four arms. Īśvara, seeing with pleasure this splendid son, blessed his offspring to be a king in the world, and from his being sprung from Samarahara and the earth, he received the title *Harādharnī-prasūtam*, from being born in the Kadamba grove, the title Kadamba Rudra, from the reflection of peacock's feathers being impressed on his body, the title of Mayūravarmā!"¹

The twelfth century A. D., therefore, saw the popularization of the legend connecting Mayūravarmā with the peacocks. We may not be far wrong in asserting that it may have been in the same century that it travelled to Tuḷuva, where the Brahmans gave it a local colouring incorporating it in the *Grāmapaddhati*. Turning to the other part of the legend of Mayūravarmā, viz., the introduction of Brahmans from Ahichchatra and the allotment of *grāmas* among them, it

1. E. C., VIII. Sb. 179, p. 27.

may be remembered that, while the earliest reference to the Ahicchatra Brahmans dates prior to the twelfth century A.D., no mention is made either of Mayūravarmā or of the distribution of land among them. Thus in an inscription dated A.D. 904 of the times of Ereyapa Nītimārga, we are told that "From Ahicchatra the abode of *yatis*, in which was the temple of Padmodbhava (Brahmā), there came originally to the south country, in order to make it pure, free from sin, and filled with merit, companies of learned Brahmans, to the honoured district (*visaya*) named Vanavasi." There the whole company settled in the great village called Tānaguṇḍa (its praise and the greatness of the Brahmans described).¹

The above proves that in the beginning of the tenth century A.D., Ahicchatra was not associated either with Paraśurāma or with Mayūravarmā. But by the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D., the story of the distribution of *grāmas* by Mayūravarmā received further embellishment at the hands of the scribes of inscriptions. We may recount here the division of the *grāmas* into those of western and eastern sections as given in the *Grāmapaddhati*. The total number of *grāmas* thus divided, we may be permitted to repeat, was thirty-

1. E. C. XII. Nj. 269, pp. 135-136.

2. Cf. Taylor, *Cat. Rass.*, III. p. 660 where the division of thirty-two *grāmas* is ascribed to Paraśurāma. Read also Rice, *Mys. Ins.* p. 196 where Mukṣanna Kadamba is described to have selected 12,000 Brahmans from Ahicchatra belonging to thirty-two families.

That the original number of thirty-two was in the mind of the people is seen by the exaggerated accounts found in the inscriptions ranging from A.D. 1027 to A.D. 1158. In A.D. 1027 the 32,000 Brahmans of the immemorial *agrahāra* of Gauḍa, also called Gauja, are mentioned.¹ The Brahmans of Tānagunḍur (Tālgunḍa) are said to have come from Ahicchatra 32,000 in number, in a record dated A.D. 1092. They are further described as residents of 144 villages acquired as donations for the eighteen horse-sacrifices of king Mayūravarmā.² The same number of Brahmans in Tālgunḍa is repeated in A.D. 1107.³ They are called 32,000 Brahmans of Sthānagūḍha in A.D. 1158.⁴

A more rational account of the Brahman migration from Ahicchatra is given in an inscription dated A.D. 1162, which relates that among the ornaments of the world was the *agrahāra* of Ahicchatra in the north. The Ganga kings having gone there in the course of a victorious expedition, brought from it fifty chief Brahmans for the increase of their own fortune.⁵

This is the only statement in inscriptions upon which some reliance may be placed. Rice, while editing it, remarked that "perhaps Gangas is a mistake for Kadambas."⁶ It does not seem to be so. Epi-

1. *Ibid*, Sk. 47, p. 50; see also Sk. 46 dated A.D. 1068 for the name Gauja, p. 50.

2. *E. C. VII.*, Sk. 178, p. 115.

3. *Ibid*, Sk. 192, p. 122.

4. *Ibid*, Sk. 185, p. 118.

5. *Ibid*, IV. Hs. 137, p. 97.

6. *Ibid*, Intr. p. 21.

graphical evidence confirms the above statement that the Ganga kings were associated with Ahicchatra. Thus it is said in an inscription dated A.D. 1122 that Ahicchatra was the capital of the Ganga king Viṣṇugupta.¹ King Viṣṇugupta's dates, it must be confessed, are not ascertainable for the present. He was one of the earliest Ganga rulers, when the Ganga family had not yet arrived at Ganga Perūr in the Cudappah district.² Ahicchatra was rechristened Vijayapura by Priyabandhu, or Priyabandhuvarmā Devendra, one of the Ganga rulers who came after king Viṣṇugupta.³

The reason why Rice is more inclined to accept the story of the Kadambas having introduced Brahmans from Ahicchatra, is due perhaps to the fact that in the inscriptions we have already cited, and in those to be mentioned presently, the Kadambas are said to have brought the Brahmans from that northern centre. Thus in a record assigned to *circa* A.D. 1200, which describes the greatness of the *agrahāra* of Sthānagūdha, in the beautiful Kuntala country, we have the following:—The king of which, the lord of Banavase and of many other countries, Mukkanna Kadamba (his praise given) seeking with desire in the region of the south (*dakṣiṇā-patha*) for the tribe of Brahmans (*vipra-kula*), not finding any, without delay went forth, and doing worship to the Ahicchatra *agrahāra*, succeeded in obtaining

1. E. C., VII. Sh. 4, pp. 4-5.
2. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, pp. 30-31.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

thirty-two Brahman families purified by 12,000 *agnihotras*, whom sending before him he brought and established in the outskirts of the city (*Sthānagūḍha-puradaporavolal ent-ene*) in the great *agrahāra* of Sthānagūḍha which he had founded in the tract he had noted (its praise).¹

The number thirty-two relating to the Brahmans given in the Tuḷu *Grāmapaddhati* agrees very well with that given in the above inscription. Likewise the statement that Mayūravarmā not finding Brahmans in the south, went to the north to get orthodox families, coincides with that given in the above Tuḷu work. We shall see that the number thirty-two is also mentioned in another epigraph to be cited presently.

Meanwhile we may continue to cite references to the Ahicchatra Brahmans in the epigraphs of the latter half of the twelfth and in those of the thirteenth centuries. The Drāviladeśa Periyanda Hebbāruva and other Brahmans of the immemorial *agrahāra* Kollīnganahatta are said in an inscription dated about A.D. 1185, to have been "connected with Ahicchatra"².

Even the Nānā Deśis are called Lords of Ahicchatrapura in a record dated A.D. 1267.³

Before passing on to the question of the date of that part of the *Grāmapaddhati* relating to Mayūravarmā and Ahicchatra, the location of Ahicchatra may be

1. E. C. VII. Sk. 186, p. 121.

2. *Ibid*, HI. 91, p. 170.

3. *Ibid*, IX. DB. 31, p. 67.

determined. According to Gerini, Ptolemy's Adeisaga (Adisadra) may be a clumsy rendering of Ahicchatra or Ahiksetra, the name of the ancient capital of Uttara Pañcāla, north of the Ganges.¹ Cunningham had identified it with the modern Ahicchatur, eighteen miles west of Bareilly, and seven miles north of Anola.² Others, however, have identified it with Ramnagar, twenty miles west of Bareilly in Rohilkand, the name Ahicchatra being confined to the great fortress in the lands of Alampurkot and Nasratganj.³

6. HISTORICITY OF THE FAMILIES MENTIONED IN THE GRĀMAPADDHATI

Some of the families mentioned in the *Grāmapaddhati* can lay claims to antiquity. It may be observed here that the *Grāmapaddhati* does not contain an exhaustive list of all the ancient families of ancient Tūḷuva. Thus, for instance, it does not speak of the household called the Bhattitilla which, we have already narrated, figures in a record dated Śaka 1312 (A.D.1390-91) found at Tīruvāila in the Mangalore tāluka. The management of the *sarvamānya* gift

1. Gerini, *Researches into Ptolemy*. p. 747.

2. Cunningham, *Archl. Survey of India*, I. pp. 255-7. Pargiter follows him. *Mark. Pur.* p. 353 (n).'

3. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, pp. 2-3. (2nd ed.) Mr. Harihar Trivedi accepts this identification and rejects Mr. Jwala Sahay Mishra's identification of the same with the modern village of Arīora which lies a little north of the village of Bhadur in Patiala. *Indian Culture*, I. pp. 253-4. Ahicchatra, it may be noted in passing, is one of the diamond centres mentioned by Kauṭalya. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 85 (Sastri, 1923).

already described was to be vested in the hereditary charge of the members of the Bhattitilla family. But the *Grāmapaddhati* speaks of the Nadvattillāya or Nadvattilla, Mūḍantilla or Mūḍantillāya, Koḍittillāya or Kodittilla, and various other families.

A few of the prominent families mentioned in the *Grāmapaddhati*, and in one instance, a local deity as well, have figured in Tuluva inscriptions. These were the god Mārkaṇḍeśvara of Bārakūru, and the families of the Holḷas, the Handes, the Mayyas, the Kārantas, and the Mūḍila Niḍambūru Ballāḷas. We have seen that it was the Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeśvara who had advised the two sons of Manivarmā of Bārakūru in regard to the procedure that was to be adopted to get the throne of that kingdom. Tradition relates that Bārakūru was originally the *āśrama* of Mārkaṇḍeya. This is borne out by a stone inscription dated Śaka 1347 (A.D. 1425-6) which informs us that the god Pañcalinga belonged to Mārkaṇḍeśvara the original (patron saint?) of the street called Kōtēkēri of Bārakuru (*ā Bārakūru kōteya kēriya mūlasthāna Mārkaṇḍeśvarada Pañcalinga-dēvara sannidhiyalī...*¹)

Turning to the families we find that all the following belonged to the Kōta *grama*—the Holḷas, the Mayyas, the Kārantas, and the Handes, while the Mūḍila Niḍambūru family hailed from the Uḍipi tāluka. Viṣṇu Holla and Vāsudeva Holḷa, sons of Nāraṇa (Nārāyana) Holla, are mentioned in an inscription dated Śaka 1301

1. 180 of 1901, S. I. I., VII. No. 385, p. 240.

(A.D. 1379-80) recording a grant to the Someśvara temple at Mūdūkēri in Bārakūru. This was in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler Harihara Rāya II.¹ The Mayyas figure in an inscription dated Śaka 1359 (A.D. 1437-8). It relates that when Annappa Oḍeyar was the viceroy over Bārakūru in the times of the Vijayanagara Emperor Deva Raya II, a grant was made to the Somanātha temple at Maṇigārakēri in Bārakūru by a number of Śettis together with the following members of the Mayya family —Mādhava Mayya's son Kṛṣṇa and Nārāyaṇa; Kṛṣṇayya's son Vāsudeva Mayya; Koyakūra Vāsudeva Mayya's son Kṛṣṇa Mayya (*Maṇavūra olage Mana-ūra devara Mādhava Mayyana makkaḷu Kṛṣṇanu Nārāyaṇanu Kṛṣṇayyana maga Vāstēva Mayyanu Koyakūrā Vāstēva Mayyana maga Kṛṣṇā Mayyanu otti barada śilā śāsanada kramavent-endare*).² This clearly proves that the members of the Mayya as well as those of the Holla families were cited as witnesses to public grants made by the prominent citizens of Bārakūru in the first half of the fifteenth century A.D.

The same may be said of another well known family— that of the Kārantas. Another stone inscription found also in the Somanātha temple at Maṇigārakēri in Bārakūru, dated Śaka 131 (6) (A.D. 1394-5), mentions Śankara Oḍeyar as viceroy over Bārakūru in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Harihara Rāya II. It records a grant made by Keśava Nāyaka, son of Vijaya

1. 126 of 1901, S. I. I. VII. No. 316, p. 166.

2. 168 F of 1901; S. I. I. VII. No. 372, p. 226.

Nāyaka, to the god Somanātha. Among the witnesses to the grant are the following:— Govinda Kāranta, son of Keśava Kāranta ; Nārāyana Kāranta, son of Haṇḍana Viṣṇu Kāranta of the western house ; Mayijaṇṇa, son of Teḷi Bhaṭṭayya ; Dharani Seṭṭi, son of Kōṭiyapa Seṭṭi and others (*Keśava Kārantana maga Govinda Kāranta paḍuva maneya Haṇḍana Viṣṇu Kārantana maga Nārana Kāranta Teḷi Bhaṭṭayyanavara maga Mayijannanaru Kōṭiyapa S'ettiya maga Dharam S'etti*).¹ In a record with characters of the same age a son of Haṇḍa Kṛṣṇa Kāranta is mentioned. The date of this record cannot be determined.² We may recall here that in an epigraph dated A.D. 1437-8 cited above, concerning the Mayyas, a Kṛṣṇa Kāranta is mentioned.³

The Handes are spoken of in a grant dated only in the cyclic year Śrīmukha, made to the god Somanātha, evidently of the same locality referred to above. No ruler or overlord is mentioned in this epigraph. It registers a grant by Śankara Hande, son of Dēmaṇa, in the presence of the *halaru* or citizens of Maṇigāraḱēri in Bārakūru (*Handetina Dēmana Handeya maga S'ankara Handeyaru...*)⁴

Two prominent families may also be mentioned here. These were the Ciṭupāḍi and the Niḍambūru households of the Uḍipi tāluka. Like the families of Kōṭa which we have described above, the Ciṭupāḍi

1-2. 159 of 1901, S. I. I. VII. No. 356, pp. 213-214, and *ibid*, n (1)

3. 168 F of 1901, op. cit.

4. 161 of 1901, S. I. I. VII. No. 359, p. 210.

and the Niḍambūru families wielded considerable influence in their own locality. In the *Grāmapaddhati*, as we have already remarked, these two families are called the Paksanāthas. The Citupāḍi or Ciṭṭupāḍi family representatives are mentioned in a record dated Śaka 1398 (A.D. 1476-7), of the times of the Vijayanagara king Virūpākṣa Rāya II.¹ The earliest reference to the other family of Niḍambūru as given in a record dated A.D. 1281, has already been adverted to in an earlier context. In a later stone epigraph dated Śaka 1317 (A.D. 1395-6) of the reign of the Vijayanagara king Harihara Rāya II, found in the Uḍipi Śrīkrṣṇa *matha*, it is called *Mūḍela Niḍambūru*. It locates the *matha* of the god Kṛṣṇa thus:—*S'ivaliya Mūḍela Niḍambūra grāmada madhyada Uḍipina sthānada S'rī Kru (kr) ṣṇa-dēva-rige*. This was when the Vijayanagara viceroy Śankara Oḍeyar was ruling from Bārakūru.² In A.D. 1399-1400, as narrated in a record already cited above, when the Vijayanagara viceroy was the *Mahāpradhāna* Nāgarāṣa Oḍeyar, the *Mūḍila Niḍambūraru* were one of the parties to whom the viceroy gave the gift³

The importance of this well known family is seen not only in the above records but also in the following which clearly demonstrates that the Niḍambūru *grāma-stharu* were citizens of much consequence. A defaced inscription found in the Uḍipi Śrīkrṣṇa *matha* of the reign of Harihara Rāya II, ends thus:—*Vidyādhi (Rā)ja*

1. 39 of 1901, S. I. I. VII. No. 209, p. 105.

2. 112 of 1901, S. I. I. VII. No. 299, p. 151.

3. 154 C of 1901; op. cit.

*Tīrtha S'ri-pādangalu Harihara Rāyana kayyalu māḍida dharma S'ri-Vira Harihara Rāyara voppa S'ri-Virūpākṣa-dēvaru S'ivaḷiya Mūdila Niḍambūrā grāmada voppa Uḍupina S'ri-Mahādēvaru Koṇḍaūravara voppa Konata-dēvaru.*¹ Another stone inscription found in the same famous *matha*, and assignable to the same reign, ends in a similar manner, thus.—*S'ri-Harihararāyara kayyalu māḍida dharmma S'ri-Vira Harihararāyara voppa S'ri Virūpākṣadēvaru S'ivaḷiya Mūdillavaru Niḍambūru grāmada voppa Uḍupina S'ri-Mahādēvaru Saguriya Kuñjatavana Naḍuvanti anavarta Dēvaḷiya dēvaru Banniñjada adhivāsada jananiḡaḷa voppa tāḷekūde dēvaru Koḍaūra jananiḡaḷa voppa Kānaḍa (Kānana²) Sankaranārāyana dēvara voppa...*² These epigraphs conclusively prove that the presence of the Niḍambūru representatives was necessary when an official grant was made. This refers of course to the affairs in Uḍipi alone.

Of the witnesses mentioned in the above grants, a word may be said of the god Virūpākṣa. This name refers to the deity which is said to have been in the Lingāyata *matha* in that quarter of the modern Uḍipi town which is called Māruthivīthikā. The entire locality of Māruthivīthikā and its neighbourhood is said to have been the property of the god Virūpākṣa whose temple is incorporated in the Lingāyata *matha*. It is still known as *Virūpākṣa-kumēri* among the people. It is said that a great part of Uḍipi comprised the *Virūpākṣa-*

1. 115 of 1901, S. I. I. VII. No. 303, pp. 115–116.

2. 111 of 1901, S. I. I. VII. No. 298, pp. 150–51.

kumēri. The probability seems to be that this was a very ancient temple about which unfortunately nothing is available in epigraphs or literature.

7. CRITICISM OF THE GRĀMAPADDHATI AND ITS DATE

The *Grāmapaddhati*, no doubt, is defective, even as a traditional account of the village organization. But all the same it is very useful for the history of Tuluva. The following may be said against it:—

(1) It is lacking in uniformity. Thus, in one version Mayūravarmā is introduced abruptly ; while in others his parentage is given. In some he is made the son of Manivarmā, in others the son of Sūsīla and Hemāngada.¹ But in some versions, Hemāngada is described to be issueless.² In other accounts, Vīravarmā is said to have become Mayūravarmā.³ This is not mentioned in other versions.

(2) The *Grāmapaddhati* contains statements which, even on the strength of Tuluva tradition, cannot be accepted. Thus, in one version the ministers, who go in search of a ruler, are described to have proceeded to northern Vārakūla (i e , Bārakūru).⁴ But this is clearly inadmissible, since there never existed northern and southern Bārakūru.

(3) The *Grāmapaddhati* is uniformly represented to be a portion of the *Sahyadri-kānda* of the *Skānda Purāna*.

1. *The Puttige version*.

2-3. Hegde, *Carite*, pp. 71, 74.

4. *Ibid*, p. 71.

This detracts its value as a piece of independent historical work.

Nevertheless, the *Grāmapaddhati* is a source which cannot be dismissed as an instance of Brahmanical fabrication. Almost all the *grāmas* and many of the households mentioned in it exist today. The historicity of some of the prominent families has already been proved. Down to our own times, the *Grāmapaddhati* has always been referred to as a work of great authority, especially in deciding questions concerning the society of the Tulu Brahmans.

The few details we have enumerated above, enable us to determine the date of the *Grāmapaddhati*. That the composers of *Grāmapaddhati* are, on the whole, chronologically unreliable is evident from the following considerations:—In one passage in the Mangalore version, it is related that at the end of the reign of Jayaṅṭika Kadamba Rāya in Kali 1605 came Mayūravarmā. In a later passage in the same version, the distribution of the *grāmas* by Mayūravarmā is dated in 1731 Vikṛta Samvatsara which is evidently an error for Kali 1731 ! And still further down in the same narrative Citrāṅgada is placed in Kali 1653 ! And the absurdity of the account is seen when in the same narrative the successors of Cantrāṅgada (*i. e.*, Citrāṅgada) were eleven kings, all of whom ruled before the beginning of the Śālivāhana era!

For historical purposes, therefore, the above details are worthless. We have to rely on other intrinsic

evidence supplied in the *Grāmapaddhatī* in order to find out its probable date. From the Buddhist parallel of the story of the peacock given above, it seems as if we are to trace the origin of the legend to an earlier Buddhist source. The prominence given to Mayūra-varmā in the *Grāmapaddhatī* suggests that the upper limit of the story may be placed in the third century A.D. But we have shown that the story of the distribution of the *grāmas* was not current till the middle of the fifth century A.D. The *Grāmapaddhatī*, therefore, has to be assigned to a later age. A rapid survey of some of the historical notices in that work enables us to assert the following concerning its date:—

(1) The *Grāmapaddhatī* mentions a controversy between Śankarācārya and Maṇḍana Pandita.¹ In another version of the same work, we are told that Mayūravarma, on the advice of Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya, built temples the ceremonies and ritual of which were conducted according to Śankarācārya's injunctions.² These statements are enough to prove that the *Grāmapaddhatī* was composed after the times of Śankarācārya. It must be admitted that the date of the great reformer is not yet settled. Nevertheless, even if we place Śankarācārya in the middle of the eighth century A.D. or thereabouts,

1. The *Puttige version* in which is incorporated a chapter called *Ahucchatra paddhatī*. In all we have about 270 verses dealing with Śankarācārya. B. A. S.

2. Heide, *Carite*, pp. 83-84.

the date of the *Grāmapaddhati* which mentions him is brought lower still.¹

(2) The *Grāmapaddhati* contains the statement that Jainism was spreading in Bārakūru, and that the Jainas were in a majority in that city.² As we shall see in the next chapter, the advent of Jainism into Tuluva cannot be dated earlier than the ninth century A.D. Therefore, the *Grāmapaddhati* which mentions the above and other notices of Jainism,³ could have been composed only after the introduction of Jainism in Tuluva. That is to say, the *Grāmapaddhati* is to be assigned to the tenth century A.D.

(3) The *Grāmapaddhati* speaks of Bārahakanyāpura. From the discussion centering round that name as

1. On Sankarācārya's date, read T. R. Chintamani, *IHQ* III p. 39 seq. where Śankara is placed in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. Swamikannu Pillai fixed Śankara's birth in A.D. 805. Swamikannu referred to in the *Mys. Arch. Rept.* for 1928, p. 152. Dr. Shama Sastry opines that Śankara's death took place in Śāka 74 (A.D. 820) *Proceedings of All India Or. Conf.* III p. 225. Mr. S. V. Venkatesvara places Śankara in the ninth century A.D. *I. A.* XLIV., p. 164. If Balavarmā's contemporaneity with Śankara is granted, then, Dr. Sastry's calculation may be accepted as valid. Balavarmā is placed in A.D. 812. *Mys. Arch. Rept.* for 1909, paras 46 and 53, *ibid.* for 1910-11, p. 37. There is also a Balavarmā who was the father of Yasovarmā and grand-father of Vinayāditya who is known by a record dated Śāka 735 (A.D. 813-4). *I. A.* XII, pp. 11-13. Another Balavarmā is assigned to *circa* A.D. 750. *E. C.* XII. Mi. 93, p. 113. B. A. S.

2. The *Grāmapaddhati* speaks of a dispute between the Jainas and the Brahmins in the city of Bārakūru. Hegde, *Carite*, pp. 76, 78, 99.

3. *Ibid.* p. 73. The *Puttige version* deals at some length with a ruler called Arhat, and mentions a Jaina ruler called Jinendra. The *Ahucchatrā-paddhati* also refers to the dispute between the Jainas and the Brahmins. B. A. S.

given in the earlier pages of this treatise, it must have been apparent to the reader that the form Bārahaknyāpura came into vogue only in the tenth century A.D. Therefore, the *Grāmapaddhatī* which so often mentions Bārahakanyāpura, and which, as will be explained in connection with the history of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya, even ventures to give a derivation of that particular form of the name, could only have been written in the tenth century A.D., or later.

(4) The Puttige version, as we have already seen, mentions a king named Vasu whom we have identified with the Ālupa king Vibudhavasū, who ruled in A.D. 1244-5. It is evident from this that the *Grāmapaddhatī* must have been written after the times of king Vibudhavasū. In other words, it could not have been written earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century A.D.

(5) The Puttige version describes a Madhva ascetic who was probably the celebrated Madhvācārya himself, and the manner in which the Vaisnavites converted people into their fold. These details will be presently narrated. The date of the great Vaisnava teacher will be discussed in the next chapter. In the meanwhile, we may note that the *Grāmapaddhatī* which describes a great Madhva sage belonged to the age of the renowned Madhva himself, i.e., from the middle of the thirteenth to the beginning of the fourteenth centuries A.D., or to a later age.

(6) The *Grāmapaddhatī* maintains that the two Pakṣanāthas were, as we have already seen, Cīṭupādi

and Niḍambūru. The earliest historical reference to the Niḍamburu household called Mūḍila Niḍambūru, as we have also observed, is in the last quarter of the thirteenth century A. D. The *Grāmapaddhati* which speaks of the greatness of the Niḍambūru family could only have belonged to the latter part of the thirteenth century A.D.

(7) The most decisive test which determines the date of the *Grāmapaddhati* is the following:— It describes the judicial procedure in the court of a ruler called Vīra Bhūpa. This was no other than the Vijayanagara viceroy Vīra Bhūpati, son of Yuva Bukka and grandson of Harihara Rāya II. From independent epigraphical evidence we know that he was placed over one of the cities in the Karnāṭaka in A.D. 1386.¹ Since the *Grāmapaddhati* describes the judicial procedure in the provincial capital of Vīra Bhūpati, we may definitely assign the composition of Tuḷu work, which

¹ Vīra Bhūpati, son of Yuva Bukka and grandson of Harihara Rāya II, mentioned in a record of A.D. 1386 (*E. C. XI. Mk 31*, p. 95, Saletore, *S. P. Life*, I. p. 196), and again in a later inscription dated A.D. 1400. (*Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle for 1913*, p. 75). It was during his time that Caudapa composed his *Prayagaratnamālā*. (Aiyangar, *The Sources of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 54-55, Rama Rao, *I. H. Q.*, X. p. 802)). This Vīra Bhūpati is not to be confounded with Vīra Bhūpati Oḍeyar, son of Deva Rāja Oḍeyar, who was placed as Viceroy over the Chingleput district and its neighbourhood. Of the second Vīra Bhūpati we have likewise two records (Cf. Saletore, *ibid.*, I, p. 277, II. p. 293). The judicial procedure referred to here will be discussed in a separate paper. B. A. S.

may have incorporated matter of earlier times, to the latter half of the fourteenth century A.D.¹

8. THE STORY OF BHŪTĀLA PĀṆDYA AND THE AḶIYA SANTĀNA KATTU

We have narrated the events till the days of Candrāṅgada, as given in the *Grāmapaddhati*. We shall now relate a few more incidents that took place after Candrāṅgada till the appearance of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya of Tuluva tradition. Ninth in descent from Candrāṅgada, according to one version, was Angaravarmā whose son was Viravarmā. This prince while out a-hunting was cursed by Ṛṣi Kotāsādri (Ṛṣi on the Kotāsādri?) for having killed the latter's deer. Viravarmā together with his attendants was burnt to death, while he was ascending the throne at Bārakūru.

Here come a series of events connecting Tuluva with the Pāṇḍyadeśa in the south. A brief resumé of these incidents is essential before we pass on to the question of the historicity of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya. In the Pāṇḍyadeśa there lived a ruler called Jaya Pāṇḍya, who had four sons—Agniketu, Śikhiketu, Śivarmā (Śivavarmā?) and Bhūta Pāṇḍya. The last named worshipped a spirit

1. This explains why the *Grāmapaddhati* calls Udayāvara merely a village (*grāma*). The reason is obvious: on the decline of the Ālupas as a ruling power, as we have already shown, the original capital Udayāvara sank into insignificance, and Bārakūru and Mangalūru took its place. Of these Bārakūru continued to be the capital of Tuluva down to the days of the occupation of the district by the British. B. A. S.

called Kuṇḍodara. The eldest Agniketu succeeded to his father's throne, and was followed by Agniketu's eldest son Saumyavīra Pāṇḍya. The latter's minister was Subuddhi. Candrāṅgada (of Tuḷuva ?) hearing of the helpless condition in which the Pāṇḍyadeśa was placed, twice invaded the country; and although worsted in his first attempt, yet succeeded in routing Saumyavīra Pāṇḍya. On this the latter fled with his wife called Satyavatī and his five year old boy called Jaya Pāṇḍya, to a village named Sukha.

Meanwhile, Satyavatī's brother Deva Pāṇḍya had failed to persuade his wife Śiva Devī to sacrifice one of his sons as an offering to the spirit Kuṇḍodara which had made its abode in a gallant vessel he had built for trading with the southern seas. Satyavatī hearing that Deva Pāṇḍya was in a pitiable condition, left the village of Sukha with her child Jaya, and meeting her brother, offered Jaya as a sacrifice to Kuṇḍodara. Being pleased with Satyavatī's earnestness and piety, Kuṇḍodara led the boy Jaya to Vārakūla (which is supposed to have been the name of Bārakūru), where it destroyed the family of the ruler of that kingdom named Siddheśvaravarmā. Here the spirit made the state-elephant garland Jaya Pāṇḍya. But not being satisfied with the Bārakūru throne, Kundodara went to Ujjain from where it brought Vikramāditya's throne and placed Jaya Pāṇḍya on it christening him Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya. This event, according to some versions of the *Grāmapaddhati*, took place in Śalivāhana Śaka 1, Bahu-

dhānya^{*} samvatsara Māgh Śuddha Tratiya Vṛṣabha lagna.¹

Another version of the *Grāmapaddhati* narrates that after the extinction of the Kadamba line, the Karnā-taka dynasty appeared in Śaka 705 (A D. 773-4). When Cakravartin Vikramāṅkadeva died, in his line appeared Vīra Pāṇḍya whose son was Bhūta Pāṇḍya who was made king of Bārakūru by the spirit Kuṇḍodara. Bhūta Pāṇḍya's son was Vidyutjimha whose three sons ruled over Bārakūru. They were succeeded by Vīra Sena who died issueless in Śaka 1100. This afforded an opportunity to Pāṇḍya, a Śūdra, to seize Bārakūru. But the patron spirit of that city called Bhūtanātha, evidently the same as Kuṇḍodara mentioned above, craved for a human sacrifice at the hands of Pāṇḍya. His wife refused to give up her son. But his sister agreed to do so. Pāṇḍya then ruled over Bārakūru and eventually married twelve Jaina princesses. In honour of these twelve Jaina princesses, the city was named Bārahakanyāpura. These twelve princesses gave birth to twelve sons-Tolāra, Cauta, Sāvanta, Banga, Ajila, Komna, Dambi, Kumbala, Binnāna, Heggade, Mudya and Kunda.

After Pāṇḍya reigned his sister's son Baddadāsa. This ruler rechristened Saneśvara as Baindūru. He appointed Nāḍavars (i. e., Bunts) as the tenants of the Brahmans. His sister's daughter named Halli reigned

1. Hesse, *Carste*, pp. 103-135.

after him. It was during her time that the Nāḍavars claimed proprietary rights of the soil situated near Brahmāvūru. This seems to have been acceded to, according to the Mangalore version of the *Grāma-paddhati*, but lands in Kōṭa, Kandāvāra and Śivalī remained strictly in the hands of the Brahmans.¹ The Vijayanagara rulers are then suddenly introduced in Śaka 1150 (A.D. 1228).²

A third version of the story relates the following Kadamba Rāya gave his sister in marriage to Lokāditya after going over to Gokarna. He killed Hubāśika, also called Hubbadiga, Habāsiga, and Hebasi, a wicked chieftain of the mountains, and then created Hayva, Tuḷuva, and Malayāḷa. This was in Kali 1689.³ But

1-2. *The Mangalore version.*

3. This Hubāsiga was, according to tradition, a Koragar chieftain. The Koragars belong to the larger group of wild tribes described by us elsewhere. Some represent him as coming from Anantapur. (*I. A. III* p 196). The following is the account of the Koragar chieftain —When Lokāditya, who was assigned to B C 1450 by Wilks, was king of Banavase, an invader by name or Hubāśika overran that country with an army of Cāndālas, and marched southwards to Mangalūru in Tuluva. Here however his army was scouraged by small pox at which he moved on to Mañjeśvara to the south of Mangalore. Hubāsiga subdued here the local ruler named Angaravarmā, son of Viravarmā, and reigned there in conjunction with his nephew for twelve years. Then both died. According to one legend, they died through the enchantments of Angaravarmā; while another asserts that a neighbouring ruler treacherously proposed a marriage alliance between his sister and Hubāśika, and when the latter and his tribe attended the nuptials, effected their wholesale massacre. Angaravarmā then drove the invaders into the jungles where they were reduced to such an extremity that they consented to become slaves and were apportioned among the Brahmans and other landowners. But the

Candrāṅgada, son of Mayūravarmā, won a victory over Lokāditya, recovered his ancestral dominions, and re-established the Ahicchatra Brahmans in the thirty-two *grāmas*.

Candrāṅgada next undertook an invasion of the Pāṇḍya land in retaliation to the invasion of Bārakūru by Bhūta Pāṇḍya in the times of Candrāṅgada's grandfather Hemāṅgada. Candrāṅgada succeeded in his venture, and brought as captive, among others, a woman named Pommaḍaya with her eleven children. He landed in the harbour of Udayāvara, which is called a *grāma*. The captives from the Pāṇḍyadeśa were re-christened thus: Māvana, Dēra, Cāru, Malli, Bambari, Cori, Paḍirālu, Mittara, Cavuta, Kōra, Cara, Kambaḷi, Cūra, Hōli, Heggade, Kañcuna, Bhaṇḍāri, Sāvanta, Halī, Katu and Khiri (or Bhiri). These were to serve the Brahmans of the thirty-two *grāmas* as servants.

Koragars, whom Hubāsika had raised to the highest posts under him, were stripped and driven to the seashore there to be hanged. But being ashamed of their naked condition, they gathered the leaves of the nicki bush (*Vitex Negunda*), and made coverings for themselves in front. On this the executioners took pity on them and let them go, but condemned them to be the lowest of the low and wear no other covering but leaves. Walhouse cited by Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, III, pp. 427-428. There cannot be any doubt that the Koragars were in some manner associated with proprietary rights of the soil, and perhaps even with some governmental functions, long before the Ālupas became the rulers of Tuḷuva. It is also probable that the Koragars were addicted to warfare. But the above story is an invention of later times. The Koragars were but a branch of the Parna-Śabarās of Indian history. The name Habbusika, it may also be noted, is given to Abyssinia. *E. C. IV. Intr. 31, Yd. 54, p. 60.*

The dynasty of Candrāṅgada became extinct in the Kali year 3884. Then in the line of Vikramārka of Karnāṭaka was born Vira Pāṇḍya whose son was Bhūta Pāṇḍya. This version, it may be noted, uniformly gives the name Bhūta Pāṇḍya Rāya's progenitor as Vikramārka, whom it places in Ujjain. Bhūta Pāṇḍya died in Śaka 1100. After him there appeared the chieftain Pāṇḍu of the Śūdra caste, who married twelve Jaina princesses after whom the city was called Bārahakanyāpura. The reign of his sister's son Badda Dāsa follows and the names of the twelve princesses. In this version we have Mūla instead of Komna, Domba instead of Dombi, and Mudda instead of Mudya. In other details, this version agrees with the one given above.

The most important fact in connection with Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya of Tuluva tradition is the law of inheritance through the females which he is said to have promulgated. This is known as the *aliya santāna kattu*, incorporating fourteen regulations called *hadināḷku kattu* and the sixteen rules called *hadināru katṭalegalu*.

9. CRITICISM OF THE STORY OF BHŪTĀLA PĀṇDYA AND AN EXAMINATION OF THE DATE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ALIYA SANTĀNA KATTU

Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya's name is held in great veneration by the Tulu people, the *aliya santāna kattu* governs a large section of the Tuluvas; and the fourteen regu-

¹ *The Mangalore version*, pp. 72-78. Sturrock gives the story of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya. *S. C. Manual* I. pp. 62-4, 140-3.

lations and the sixteen rules have controlled Tuluva society for ages.¹ These considerations compel us to examine the antiquity of the law called the *aḷiya santāna kattu* and of the fourteen regulations and the sixteen rules, and the historicity of Bhūtāla Pāndya.

There is nothing to indicate in the epigraphs available that the fourteen regulations and the sixteen rules were current in the times of the Ālupas. It is true that the term *kattale* appears in later inscriptions. Thus in a stone inscription dated Śaka 1359 (A.D. 1437-8), of the times of the Vijayanagara monarch Pratāpa Deva Rāya II, when Annappa Oḍeyar was the viceroy over Bārakūru, the people who followed the

1. But it is not to be imagined that the *aḷiya santāna kattu* is universal, even among the Jainas. I am given to understand that it prevails only among the Jainas who are great landowners, i.e., those who are the heirs to the rich feudal estates of the mediaeval times. But among the other Jainas, the *makkala santāna* prevails. And even among the Jainas of the ruling class, the *makkala santāna* governs the following *bīdu*s of Tuḷuva to-day (1935) the Padubīdre *bīdu*, the Ermāl *bīdu*, the Iravattūru *bīdu*, and the Dharmasthala *bīdu*. At Ermāl, for instance, the late Mr. Laksmapa Māramma Hegde was succeeded by his son Kumārāyya Māramma Hegde. Now, the younger brother of Mr. Kumārāyya Māramma Hegde, Mr. Nābhīrāja Māramma Hegde, is the head of the Ermāl *bīdu*. After him the *bīdu* will pass to Mr. Kumārāyya Māramma Hegde's son. Hence the distinction, seems to be the following —On the whole, the *aḷiya santāna* governs the Jama royal classes, while the *makkala santāna* governs the Jaina *jāti*. An interesting example of a Jaina landowner who himself belonged to the *makkala santāna*, but who succeeded to the property governed by the *aḷiya santāna* law, is that of the benevolent gentleman Mr. Raghucandra Ballāla of Malālī (Manēl in Tuḷu), an ex-M. L. C., who hails from the Iravattūru *bīdu*, but owning the Malālī estates. B. A. S.

ten regulations of the ten streets in Bārakūru are said to have appeased the representative of the Śivaḷḷi grāma on a particular connection (*Bārakūru hattū kēri modalāda kattaleiyavaru kūḍi S'ivaḷḷiya grāma santaisuvalli...*).¹ This proves that the *kattus* and the *kattales* associated with the name of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya were not current in ancient Tuḷuva, especially under the Ālupas. We have, therefore, to suppose that these regulations came into vogue in later times.

From the three versions of the story of this remarkable hero of Tuḷuva legend given above, it must have been apparent to the reader that there was no uniformity in them, and that so far as chronological data are concerned, no reliance can be placed on the story of the hero at all. It may be remembered here that while we have an account of that hero till his death in the Mangalore version, in the Puttige version no mention whatsoever is made of him. And even in the Mangalore version, the fourteen regulations and the sixteen rules are not mentioned. The omission of the name of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya in one important (Puttige) version of the *Grāmapaddhati*, and of the rules and regulations in other versions, is significant.

It may be argued here that the *Grāmapaddhati* and the Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya story are two different accounts, and that the latter need not necessarily have been

1. 109 of 1901, S. I. I., VII. No. 296, pp. 147-48.

incorporated in the former.¹ But a code of regulations like that of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya, affecting as it did the history of a large section of the Tuluva people, ought to have been at least alluded to in the traditional accounts of Tuluva, especially when these hailed from Kōṭa or from Udipi which were so near to Bārakūru, the alleged place of the origin of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya. The contrary suggests that the story of the introduction of the *aliya santāna kattu* was not universal, and that it did not belong to the age in which the *Grāmapaddhati* was composed.

That the Tulu people believed in the story of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya, there cannot be any doubt. Indeed, Wilks informs us that one-sixth of the crop is the share which is said to have been exacted by the government of South Kanara from time immemorial until in A.D. 1252 when a nephew of the Pāṇḍyan king, taking advantage of a civil war, invaded the country, in ships, and conquered it. But the invader, however, imposed on the conquered subjects the task of delivering the crop deprived of its husk in a state fit for food,

1. Hegde relates that Kōṭegiri Subrāya Jyōśa of Bārakūru had a copy of *Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya Katṭu* in 13 chapters, which Jyōśa explained to Hegde. *Carite*, Intr. p. iii. Mr. Govind Pai asserts that he has seen a paper copy of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya's history in modern characters. *Thuluva Mahāśabha Annual*, p. 13. (Udipi, 1929). But while at Bārakūru on two different occasions in 1922 and then again in 1932, I failed to trace a copy of the *Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya Carite*. People maintain and believe that the original of this palmyra Ms. is buried under the image of Pañcaliṅgeśvara in Bārakūru. This is mere fiction as I came to know while in that temple. B. A. S.

thereby increasing the revenue by about ten per cent. which is the estimated expense of this operation. This mode of payment continued until the establishment of a new government at Vijayanagara.¹

In the note on the same page Wilks records the popular view that the Pāṇḍyan race had their capital at Madura; that this invader, from his wonderful success, is fabled to have been attended by an army of demons—*bhūtas*—and was hence called Bhūta Pāṇḍya Rāya; and that he was the son of the king's sister, and from that circumstance is said to have established in the conquered country a law regarding descent in nephews by the sister's side.²

It is worth while to examine the historicity of this remarkable Tuluva hero whose story has survived down to our own days. At the outset it must be confessed that the peculiar law of inheritance through the female which Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya is said to have introduced into Tuluva, is common to Kerala as well as to other lands outside Tuluva.³ This does not, however, prove its antiquity in Tuluva, nor the historicity of its alleged founder.

The internal evidence of the story of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya together with that supplied in epigraphs and

1-2. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of South India*, I. p. 152, and *ibid.*, (n.)

3 Cf. *Manual of Administration in the Madras Presidency*, III. p. 477 seq.; G. Krishna Rao, *A Treatise on Aliya Sāntana Law and Usage*, p. 11; Burton, *Goa and the Blue Mountains*, p. 209, (London, 1851).

tradition enables us to arrive at the following conclusions regarding the hero and his law:—

(a) All versions of the story call the capital Bārahakanyāpura. The marriage of the twelve Jaina princesses is connected with this name. We have conclusively shown that the form Bārahakanyāpura came into prominence only in the tenth century A.D., and that it was not the original name of the city at all. Since the legend mentions only the variant Bārahakanyāpura, the legend can be placed in the tenth century A.D., or after.

(b) The story of the Jaina princesses marrying the Bārakūru ruler strikingly recalls the offering of twelve princesses by Sugrīva to Rāma, as described by Abhinava Paṃpa in his *Rāmāyana*.¹ It is likely that the Jaina conception of a ruler marrying at one and the same time twelve princesses travelled to Tuluva during the time of Abhinava Paṃpa, i. e., about the twelfth century A.D. If this is accepted, the story of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya may be assigned to the twelfth or the thirteenth century A.D.

(c) In one version of the story of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya, it is said that he received the throne of Vikramāditya of Ujjain. But in two other versions he is described to have been born in the line of the Karnāṭaka king Vikramārka.² Evidently Vikramāditya refers to Vikra-

1. Abhinava Paṃpa, *Rāmāyana*, X, vv. 39-45, pp. 283-83. (Bangalore, 1892).

2. *The Manalore version*.

mārka, whose other name was Vikramāditya. Now, as we have already explained in a earlier context, this was no other than Vikramānka Deva Vikramāditya II, Tribhuvanamalla, who reigned from A.D. 1073 to about A.D. 1132-33. Therefore, on the strength of the internal evidence of the story itself, Bhūtāla Pāndya can be placed only *after* the twelfth century A.D.

(d) The history of the descent among the Ālupas conclusively proves that the *ālīya santāna kattu* could never have been legalized in Tuluva before the fourteenth century A.D. The history of the Ālupas as given in an earlier context may be recalled here. We shall select only three sets of descent in order to maintain our assertion that under the Ālupas, till the end of the thirteenth century A.D., the succession was from father to son, and not in the sister's line from uncle to nephew. Thus, in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Kundavarmarasa was succeeded by his son Guna-sāgara who was followed by his son Citravāhana I. From the first quarter till the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., we have Prthvīsāgara followed by Vijayādityarasa. The descent in the royal house from the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D. till the last quarter of the thirteenth century A.D., proves beyond doubt that the *ālīya santāna kattu* never prevailed in the Ālupa house. For Udayādityarasa (last quarter of the eleventh century A.D.) was succeeded by Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva, who was followed by Kula-

śekhara Ālupendradeva I. The last named ruler was succeeded by Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I who was followed by Nāgadevarasa.

Since we cannot conceive of a law becoming popular and binding over a considerably large section of the people in ancient times without receiving royal support, and since there is nothing in the Ālupa records till the days of king Nāgadevarasa (A.D. 1292-A.D. 1298) even to suggest that the *aliya santana kattu* had been legalized by the rulers, we may assert that it was not in vogue either among the kings or people of Tuluva till the end of the thirteenth century A.D.

But two objections may be levelled against this conclusion.—

(i) Queens are represented as ruling over Bārakūru. Thus, the Pañcalingeśvara temple inscription found at Kōṭekēri in Bārakūru, dated A.D. 1185, already cited above, affirms that the crowned queen Pāṇḍya Mahā Devī was ruling over the city of Pannirpallī.¹ This, however, is to be interpreted in the sense that that city formed the personal estate of the queen, or that she ruled jointly with the king Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva, whose long reign we have described in the previous pages.

(ii) Aḷiyas or nephews are prominently mentioned in the Ālupa records. For instance, in two of the

1. 171 of 1901, op. cit.

records found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Kōta and at Brahmāvūru in the Uḍipi tāluka cited already, and both dated A.D. 1254, Vīra Pāṇḍya Ālupendradeva is described as ruling from Bārahakanyāpura, and issuing orders in the presence of Aḷiya Bankideva.¹ But this was an instance of mere corporate existence. It may be remembered here that *mayduna* (brother-in-law) Oḍdama Deva was also present on these occasions. His presence on both the occasions precludes any idea of the king having shown special favour to the latter's *aliya* or nephew.

It is clear, therefore, that neither of the above objections is valid. It was only in A.D. 1444 that the *aliya santāna kattu* received royal sanction at the hands of the Ālupa king Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva IV. Our assertion is based on the Kanara High School stone inscription dated only in the cyclic year Raktākṣi, but assignable on historical grounds to the reign of that ruler. The prominence given to Aḷiya Bankideva is apparent not only from the opening lines of the epigraph which we have already cited, and which mention the nephew first and then the uncle (king Kulaśekharadeva), but also from the manner of the ending of the inscription:—Thus the stone charter (was) engraved (and) given to Uncle Kulaśekhara Deva by the nephews Baṅkideva and Bammadeva. Success to Kulaśekhara Deva ! (*yint-i dharmam śilā sūsanangeyidu*

1. 509 of 1928-9 ; 485 of 1928-9, op. cit.

*koṭṭa māva Kulāṣekhara Dēvarge aḷiyandiru Baṅkidevaru Bamma dēvaru Kulāṣekhara-devarge mangaḷa mahā-śrī).*¹

Epigraphical evidence from outside Tuḷuva amply justifies our assertion that it was only in the middle of the fifteenth century that the *aḷiya santāna kattu* received royal recognition both in and outside Tuluva. This brings us to the discussion of the interesting question concerning the identity of the legendary personage Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya. In the elucidation of this point we shall try to explain how the name and achievements of this figure got mixed up with the doings of historical persons about whom we have some records hailing from the Karnātaka.

Two *vīragals* deal with a Pāṇḍya invasion of a part of the Karnātaka. One is dated A.D. 1292 of the times of Vīra Hoysala Ballāḷa III. It relates that in the Śaka year 1213, Khara, on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Māgha, Thursday (A.D. 1292, February the 1st), when Marakāla of the house of Samudra Pāṇḍya coming with his property and vehicles (*vastu-vāhana-sahitaṁ bandu*), demanded the Khanḍeya *agrahāra*,

1. 23 B of 1901, op. cit. The assertion of Sturrock that it was in A.D. 1250 that the *aḷiya santāna* law was promulgated is wrong. *S. C. Manual*, I. pp. 63-4. Likewise the attempts made by those who place Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya in B. C. 1 or A. D. 1. Read Govinda Pai, *Aḷiyakattina prācīnate*, in the *Thulu Mahāsabha Annual*, pp. 4-19 (Udipi, 1929); Udayavara Narayana Achar, *Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya*, p. 1. (Mangalore, Dharma Prakasa Vacana Grantha Mālā, No. 13. No year); Satya Mitra Bangera, *Aḷiya Santāna Kattada Guṭtu* (in the Kannaḍa script but in the Tuḷu language), *Thulu Sahitya Male*, No. 3 (Udipi, 1930). Of these the last one is merely a farrago of ideas. B. A. S.

Kālala Deva's son Pāṇḍya Deva Mahādeva killed that Marakāla to bits, and seized his property and vehicles. For which Taligenāḍ and Devaligenāḍ rose, and marched against Pāṇḍya Deva Mahādeva. On a cavalry fight taking place in the Hunnūr river,...Canda Gauḍa slew Vīra Masaṇa, son of the tiger-tamer Masanitamamma, who was the chief person in Devaligenāḍ, but died in the fight.¹

Another *vīragal* assigned to A.D. 1322 by Mr. Narasimhācārya, was found at Bāgavālu in the Hoḷe-Narasīpura tāluḷa. This records the death of Singeya Dannāyaka, son of Vīra Ballāla Deva's sister's husband (*mayduna*) Someya Dannayaka, in a battle between the Pāṇḍyan kings in the southern India. We are told that Singeya Dannāyaka was in the service of Vīra Pāṇḍya of Kannānūru, and that in the battle that took place between Vīra Pāṇḍya on one side and his son Samudra Pāṇḍya and Parakala Pāṇḍya on the other hand, the former was put to rout, Singeya Dannāyaka dying nobly in the fight.

Mr Narasimhācārya, we may identically note, commented thus on the above interesting epigraph.—“Parakala Pāṇḍya of this epigraph perhaps represents Parākrama Pāṇḍya whose inscriptions are dated in A.D. 1315 and onwards. Vīra Pāṇḍya is said to have ruled from A.D. 1296 to 1342. No published record gives the name Samudra Pāṇḍya. It is not clear why Singeya

1. *W. C. VI. Cm. 36, p. 38.*

Daṇṇāyaka went all the way to Kaṇṇānūr to take service under Vīra Pāṇḍya."¹

These interesting details give us the clue to the appreciation of the story of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya. Both the *vīragals* refer to the aggressive activities of the southern Pāṇḍyas. In the *vīragal* dated A.D. 1292, we have an expedition into the Karnāṭaka by an officer of Samudra Pāṇḍya, in that assigned to A.D. 1322, we have the death of a Karnāṭaka general in the service of Vīra Pāṇḍya who fought against Samudra Pāṇḍya. Now, we may remember that through Tuluva lay the safest approach to the Pāṇḍyan country along the coast. It is probable that the commotion caused by Marakāla in A.D. 1292 over the Ghats in the neighbourhood of Tuluva, passed into tradition and was converted by Tuluva writers into a story of *bhūtas* bringing in a Pāṇḍya from the southern country. The expedition into the Karnāṭaka and the subsequent help which Singeya Daṇṇāyaka gave Vīra Pāṇḍya are probably the historical background of the expedition which legendary heroes like Candrāṅgada are alleged to have led into the

1. *Mys. Archl. Rept.* for 1912-1913, p. 41; *I. A.* XLIII. p. 227. Mr. Nilakantha Sastrī is ignorant of these details pertaining to the help which the Karnāṭaka generals gave to the Pāṇḍya kings in the course of their civil wars. He mentions two civil wars one in the reign of Vīra Pāṇḍya whom he places in the twelfth century A.D., the other in that of Vīra Pāṇḍya II in the troublesome days of Maḷik Kafūr's invasion. But nowhere is mention made of Samudra Pāṇḍya's wars, and the aid given by the Karnāṭaka generals. Read, K. A. Nilakantha Sastrī, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, pp. 134-36, 138, 201-204.

¹¹ A. S.

Pāṇḍyadeśa and the retaliatory measures which Bhūta Pāṇḍya assisted by the *bhūtas* led against Tuḷuva. Whatever that may be, it is enough to note that, barring Saḍaiyan's expedition against Mangaḷāpura of the Marattas, there is not the slightest reference to the Pāṇḍyan invasion of the Karnāṭaka, or its portions which lay within Tuluva, till the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. It may be that the story of Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya originated after the expedition of Singeya Danṇayāka in *circa* A.D. 1322.¹

Inscriptional evidence relating to centres outside Tuluva further corroborates our assertion that the *aḷiya santāna kattu* received royal sanction only in the fifteenth century A.D. In A.D. 1403 under the regime of the Vijayanagara viceroy Viṭṭhanṇa Odeyar, the Heggāḍes of Menasur in Maḍyavaḍināḍ together with a number of other Heggāḍes and with all the people of Dānamūla, granted a stone *śāsana* of sale deed thus:—
 “Our Dānamūla Menāsūr and other villages (in all eleven named, together with their lands, other belongings and all rights of full possession), the people of Dānamūla and the *aḷiya santāna* (or heirs in the female line) with one consent grant to those of the three cities of all the *nāḍs* of the (Āraga) Eighteen Kaṁpanas, and say that those lands and measurements no more belong to Dānmūla.”²

1. Purely Karnāṭaka legends have passed into Tuluva history. The story of Jakkanācārya is another example. I intend dealing with this in a separate paper. B. A. S.

2. E. C. VI Kp. 51, p. 86; see also *ibid*, Kp. 53, pp. 87-88.

This generous sale-deed of the citizens of Dānamūla enables us to assert that the Vijayanagara Government had legalized the *aḷiya santāna kattu* within its Empire. But Dānamūla was not the only centre where that law prevailed. It governed also the royal descent in the well known Sāluva capital of Sangītpura which was situated in Tuluva. An inscription dated A.D. 1488 relates that Sangītpura was "a place of descent in the female line" in the Tuḷuvadeśa.¹ Sangītapura was of course within the Vijayanagara Empire.

Another prominent city also within that Empire was Gērasoppe. Of the Soma-*kula* (Lunar race) rulers of that famous city, Sālva Malla was the greatest. He was one of the younger brothers of Bhairava, the others being Bhaira and Amba Ksitīśa. After Sālva Malla came his sister's son Deva Rāya, then Deva Rāya's sister's son Sālva Malla, followed by Sālva Malla's younger brother Bhairavendra.²

A stone inscription found in Nāḍkalasi in the Sagar tāluka of the Shimoga district, Mysore State, dated December the 9th A.D. 1506, is of particular importance in this connection. It is valuable not only because it is one of the few inscriptions of the founder of the Kelaḍi State, Cauḍappa Nāyaka, also called Cauḍa Gauḍa in this record, but also because it contains the interesting information that that ruler had legalized the *aḷiya*

1. E. C., VIII, Sa. 163, p. 123.

2. *Ibid.*, Sa. 55, pp. 100-101.

santana law in his principality. For it tells us that a gift of land was made by *Eḍava Murāri Kelaḍi Cauḍa Gauda* to the children of *Virapaiya*, stone cutter (*kalukuḍiḡa*) of the village of *Kalise*. The stone charter enjoins that the gift of the above estate was to follow the rule of succession to males through females (*Cauḍa Gauḍuru Kaliseya kalukutiḡa Virapaiyana makaliḡe koṭa bhūmi heṇni[n]da gaṇḍiḡe mūlavendu koṭa bhūmi*).¹ Where exactly *Kelaḍi Caudapa's* principality lay is not yet a settled point, but that he was a feudatory of the *Vijayanagara* Emperor *Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya* the Great is well known. For our purpose, it may be observed that *Cauḍapa Nāyaka* had given due importance to the *aliya santāna* law in the province under him.

To sum up:—(1) On purely historical grounds, it may be asserted that there was never a person called *Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya* in *Tuluva*, but that stories concerning the depredations of *Pāṇḍyan* agents gained currency in *Tuluva* resulting in a legend concerning an imaginary hero of the name *Bhūtala Pāṇḍya*.

(2) The *aliya santāna* law, while no doubt may have been in vogue in lands outside *Tuluva* in the early centuries of the Christian era or before, was never legalized in *Tuluva* before the fifteenth century A.D.

(3) In *Tuluva* the *aliya santāna kaṭṭu* received royal sanction under an *Ālupa* ruler only in the first half of the fifteenth century (A.D. 1444) at the same time that it had received official recognition at the

1. *Mys. Arch. Rept.* for 1930, p. 219.

hands of the feudatories of the Vijayanagara Emperors elsewhere.¹

1 We may dispense here with the Madras Government Epigraphist Mr. Venkoba Rao's theories concerning Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya. Accepting the tradition given in the *S. C. Manual* as correct, Mr. Venkoba Rao connects it with a similar tradition current in the village Bhūtappāṇḍi on the southern frontier of Travancore, concerning a ruler called Ollaiyur-tanda-Bhūtap Pāṇḍiyan, "who conquered Ollaiyūr." Citing the evidence of the anthologies *Ahanānūru* and *Puranānūru*, Mr. Venkoba Rao maintains that this Bhūtap Pāṇḍiyan "of the tradition emerges as a historical king assignable to the early centuries of the Christian era. If any reliance can be placed upon the tradition connecting this Bhūtappāṇḍiyan's name with a South Kanara expedition also, the Pāṇḍya interference in the west coast politics must be considered as dating from a very early period." *Ep. Rept. of the Southern Circle* for 1926-7, p. 107. How Mr. Venkoba Rao came to connect the Bhūtap Pāṇḍiyan of Travancore with Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya of Tuluva tradition, cannot be understood. All that can be said in regard to Mr. Venkoba Rao's statements is that they are merely conjectures. B. A. S.

CHAPTER V

RELIGION

Summary.—1. Aboriginal faith, *kāta* worship-serpent worship-devil worship. 2. Buddhism Satiyaputa not Tuluva-evidence of Buddhism in Tuluva: later tradition-existence of three Buddhists in the 19th century A.D.—Badda Dāsa-*Rājāvalī kathe-śāstāvu kallu*-names of goddesses in Tuluva-names of towns—a great Buddhist monastery. 3. Faith of the Ālupas proof of the Śaivite tendencies of the Ālupa rulers from the earliest times-places of Śaiva importance in Tuluva—the *Rājaguru* of the Ālupa ruler Dattālpēdradeva—the identification of Gagana Śivācārya—digression into the history of the Golakī *matha*—further proof of the Śaivite religion of the Ālupas till the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. 4. Jainism—introduction of Jainism into Tuluva-date ninth century A.D. proof: traditional notices corroborated by historical evidence—centres of Jainism in Tuluva. 5. Vaiṣṇavism sketch history of the great preacher Madhva. His date—his works—his teachings—a description of Madhvācārya—Methods of conversion 6. Bhāgavata Sāmpṛadāya.

1. ABORIGINAL WORSHIP

Successive religious movements have no doubt affected the life of the Tuḷuvas, but they have failed to wipe out entirely the aboriginal faith of the early people who may be said to have been of non-Tuḷuva origin. We shall first deal with the interesting relics of the aboriginal faith, and, then, proceed to delineate a few details concerning the introduction and spread of the more advanced religions.

Aboriginal faith may be grouped under three heads: tree worship, serpent worship, and spirit or devil wor-

ship. Of these the last is the most famous. It is believed in by all sections except the Brahmans amongst whom, however, serpent worship is common. That particular form of tree worship called *kāta* worship is common among the Koragars about whom we have many interesting details.¹ It is believed that the Koragars celebrate the *kāta* worship beneath a *kāsaracana* tree (*Strychos Nux-vomica*) in the months of May, July, or October. Two plantain leaves are placed on the spot, with a heap of boiled rice mixed with turmeric. As is usual in every ceremony observed by a Koragar, the senior in age takes the lead and prays to the deity to accept the offering and be satisfied.²

But this aboriginal belief has given place among the Koragars to a more popular faith which we may call devil or *bhūta* worship. The statement of Buchanan that the Koragars do not believe in spirits, but that they worship only a deity which they represent by a stone and to which they offer fowls, fruits, or grains as sacrifices,³ is by no means accurate. For they believe in a spirit called Nica which is not acknowledged by other people. Further, they are devout worshippers of Māri Ammā or Ammanavaru, the goddess presiding over smallpox, and the most dreaded form of Parvatī, the wife of Śiva. She is propitiated by blood-thirsty rites.⁴

1. Buchanan, *A Journey*, III. p. 100; Raghavendra Rao, *I. A.* III. p. 197; Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, III. pp. 425-32.

2. *I. A.*, III. p. 196; Thurston, *ibid*, pp. 433-4.

3. Buchanan, *ibid*, III p. 101.

4. Thurston, *ibid*, *Tribes*, III. p. 434.

Serpent worship takes the form of adoration of effigies of snakes (*nāga kallu*), placed at the foot of *pīṇṇa* tree (*nāga bana*), especially on Nāgara Pañcamī day, with milk, practically by all classes of people. These effigies are to be found all over the district. The most famous centres of serpent worship in Tuluva are Subrahmanya, Baḷlamanje, Kadu-kukke, Kuḍupu, Mañjeśvara, Kālāvara, Kattiṅgere, and Viṭṭhala. In the village of Arabi near Surālu in the Uḍipi tāluka and in Krimaṇjeśvara in the Kundāpuru tāluka are a quaint people called the Dakkes, or Vaidyas, as they are also known, who are reputed to be masters of the snake-lore. They administer to the superstitious needs of the lower classes on the occasions of what are known as the *nāga-mandalas* and the *brahma-maṇḍalas*. But in most of the serpent centres the worship of Skānda Kārtikeya in the form of Subrahmanya on Mrgaśīrsa Suddha Śasthi, known in Tuluva as Skanda Śasthi, is conducted by the Brahmans ¹

Devil or *bhūta* worship is extremely popular all over the district. The *bhūtas* are generally attendants on Śiva, and are found in almost all temples in Tuluva. But in this treatise we shall be concerned with that form of the *bhūta* worship which is common among the Holeyas, the Pombadas, the Nalkes, the Paravas, the

1. The statement made by some (Govinda Pai, *Karnāta Sāhitya Parisad, Itihāsada Iruḷali Tuluvanaḍu*, 1927, No. 13, p. 100 seq.) that the worship of Subrahmanya is represented by the *sāstavu* stones is incorrect. It will presently be seen that *sāstavu* stones represent another religion altogether B. A. S.

Mogers, the Billavars, and the Bunts.¹ Some details about devil worship as gleaned from the Tuḷu Pāḍa-dānas² will be given in a subsequent chapter on the life of the Tulu people. Here we may note a few features of devil worship as practised today in Tuḷuva. The most dreaded names of the *bhūtas* in Tuḷuva are Kalkuda and his sister Karlutti, Bobbariye, and Koḍababbu. There is another name with which we are not concerned here – that of the powerful Annappa in the celebrated place of pilgrimage Dharmasthala in the Puttūru tāluka. The fame of Kalkuḍa spread beyond the limits of Tuḷuva into Keraḷa where he is known as Cātu Kutti. Bobbariye is essentially a maritime *bhūta*, while Koḍadabbu is the patron deity of the Holeyas.

1 On the Paravas, read, Thurston, *Castes & Tribes*, pp. 140-143. They are supposed to have some affinity with the Tamil Paravas, and to have belonged to the same stock as the famous sea voyagers of the times of king Solomon. But Thurston's statement that the Malayāḷm and Kanarese Paravars are descended from the Tamil Paravas, is baseless. On the other hand, if we are to give any credence to the tradition current among the Tamil Paravars of the Tamil land, which make them natives of Ayodhyā and the land watered by the Jumnā in ancient times, then, the truth seems to be that in the course of their migration southwards, they reached the Karnātaka and Tuḷuva first and the Tamil land afterwards. It is possible that the descendants of the Tulu Paravars may have settled in the Tamil land, in the same manner the Tuḷu Vellālers colonized certain parts of that country. B A S

2 The word *pāḍadāna* resembles the Dravidian word *pāt*, meaning a song. But the nature of a Tulu Pāḍadāna is essentially that of a *prārthana*, prayer. B A. S.

The *bhūtas* in Tuluva are generally worshipped in *sānas* (Skt. *sthāna*).¹ *Bhūta sānas* have to a great extent been modernized in Tuluva. But some of the old structures answer to the following description given by Walhouse—they are small, plain structures, four or five yards deep, two or three wide, with a door at one end covered by a portico supported on two pillars. The buildings are generally without windows. In front of them are usually three or four T-shaped pillars, the use of which is not clear. Inside the *bhūta sānas* are images made of brass, in human shape, or resembling animals such as pigs, tigers, fowls, etc. These are brought out and worshipped as symbols of the *bhūtas* on various ceremonial occasions. A peculiar small goglet made of bell metal and *kepuḷa* flowers (*Ixora Coccinea*), together with lights are placed in front of the *bhūtas*. In some *sānas*, however, a sword is

1. Manner distinguishes the *bhūtas* thus family *bhūtas* worshipped in *koṭyas*, village *bhūtas* residing in *sānas*; sylvan *bhūtas* typified by the Brahmarāksas, and *bhūtas* connected with temples and inhabiting the *gudis*. I A. XXIII p. 29 seq. Sturrock follows him. S. C. Manual, I p. 138 This is entirely a gratuitous distinction. Likewise is Manner's assertion that Kumberlu is the special *bhūta* of the Holeyas. This cannot be maintained at all, so far as the Holeyas are concerned. The difference between *koṭyas*, *sānas*, and *gudis* indicates merely the locality where they are worshipped, and it does not in any way point to an essential difference in the nature of the *bhūtas*. The spirits of the two redoubtable brothers Kōṭi and Cennaya, whose martial deeds will be described in detail in the last chapter of this treatise, are said by Manner to reside in the *garadī*. But a *garadī* is more often given to an indigenous gymnasium. Practically every *bhūta* worshipped by the Tuluvas represents some famous man or woman who performed great deeds of valour. B. A. S.

placed near the *bhūtas*. This sword is held by the priest when he stands possessed and trembling before the people assembled for worship.¹

Bhūta worship in Tuluva is generally of four kinds: *kōla*, *bandi*, *nema*, and *agelu tambila*. The most common form of worship is a *kōla* which name is generally applied to the celebrations in honour of the *bhūtas*. It is offered to the *bhūtas* in the *sānas* of the villages, and is witnessed by all the people of the village who contribute their mite for its success. A *kōla* is sometimes also performed by an individual who has taken a vow. When the *kōla* is performed with the addition of another detail, viz., dragging about a sort of a car on which the Pombada priest who represents the *bhūta* is seated, we have a *bandi*. The celebration of the *kōla* once in twelve years in a famous temple, as in that of Dharmasthala in honour of the formidable Annappa, is called a *naḍāvali*, while the same performed by a private person once in ten, fifteen, or twenty years goes by the name of *nema*. There is still another kind of worship given exclusively to the Baiderlu, and that is called *agelu tambila* ²

1. Walhouse, *Journal of the Anthrological Institute*, V. p. 142; Sturrock *S. C. Manual*, I. pp. 137-138; R. C. Temple, *I. A.* XXIII. p 5 seq. The assertion of Temple, who follows Graul, that *bhūta* worship refers to an early period of heroes is by no means accurate. Some of the *bhūtas* like *Kōṭi* and *Cennaya* belong to comparatively later times. And the Tuluvas do not worship only seven *bhūtas*, but, as Sturrock remarked, legion. *Ibid*, p. 138. B. A. S.

2. Cf. Sturrock, *ibid*, pp. 138-39.

2 BUDDHISM

While traces of this most popular form of aboriginal worship are still seen everywhere in the district, not a vestige remains of Buddhism which somewhere in the early centuries of the Christian era seems to have taken its hold over the land.¹ That Buddhists existed in Tuluva even in our own times there cannot be any doubt: the official statistics returned three Buddhists in the last quarter of the nineteenth century A.D.²

But of the spread of Buddhism in Tuluva in the early times, no direct information is forthcoming in history. Nevertheless, with the aid of epigraphs we are able to glean a few details concerning Buddhism which, taken in conjunction with the traditional notices and some religious observances current in Tuluva to-day, enable us to assert that Tuluva had indeed come within the fold of Buddhism in the early centuries of the Christian era. In this connection it must be said at the outset that the attempts made by some to identify Tuluva with Satiyaputa of the Edicts of Aśoka are wholly unconvincing.³

1 Perhaps the only trace—if we may call it so—is the *dhūpe* or burial mounds in Tuluva. *Dhūpe* may be perhaps a corruption of *stūpa* but no proof is forthcoming to maintain this. B. A. S.

2 Sturrock, *S C Manual*, II p 11

3. Saletore, The Identification of Satiyaputa, *Indian Culture*, I pp 667-674 Dr. S K Aiyangar, in trying to refute me, has vainly endeavoured to locate Satiyaputa somewhere "to the north or N W. of the three well-known southern kingdoms" *Journal of Indian History*, XIV, No. 41, pp 278-9. We are none the wiser for these

Traditional notices which refer to the existence of Buddhism in Tuluva in early times are of two kinds : Tuluva traditional references as embodied in the *Grāmapaddhati*, and non-Tuluva references as given in Kannaḍa works of comparatively modern times. While dealing with the origin of the Śūdra tenants of the thirty-two *grāmas*, the *Grāmapaddhati* relates that among the captives brought by Candrāṅgada from the Pāṇḍyadeśa was one Pommadaya, a widow who had been excommunicated for having associated with a Śūdra called Bappa or Badda Dāsa. She had eleven children, the eldest of whom was Kavaca Dāsa. These eleven sons were the progenitors of the Nāḍavars of Tuluva.¹ Neither the *Grāmapaddhati* of Bhaṭṭācārya nor the Puttige version of the same mentions this absurd account of the origin of the Nāḍavars.²

vague and unconvincing suppositions. Equally unconvincing is the suggested identification between the Satiyaputa of the Edicts and the word *Satiya putra* (or *Satyavatī putra*) which forms one of the *birudas* of the legendary hero Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya. Mr. Govinda Pai, *The Kanara High School Magazine*, I No 2, p 65 seq. No. 3, p 101. Mr. Pai has made another attempt to identify Satiyaputa with Tuluva. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Commemoration Volume* 1936, pp. 33-47. Even if we assume that Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya belonged to the early centuries of the Christian era, this identification is erroneous, since Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya would then belong to the 1st century A.D., while the Edicts of Aśoka range from B. C. 258 or B. C. 257 onwards. Smith, *O. H. I.*, p. 103. (London, 1928). This disparity in the age is enough to disprove the identification. B. A. S.

1. *The Mangalore version.*

2. The Nāḍavars have been eulogized by Nṛpatunga Deva in his *Kavirājamārga*, thus -

subhātarkal kavigal-su- |

- prabhugaḷ caṭvarkal-a- |

Now, all that we may venture to say in regard to the name Bappa or Badda Dāsa occurring in Tuḷuva tradition, is that it may have been a clumsy rendering of the name of the Buddhist leader Badda Dāsa. But it must be admitted that this is only a conjecture, since there is no proof to maintain that the Buddhist leader of Ceylon had anything to do with Tuḷuva.¹

Devacandra (A.D. 1838) in his *Rājavalī-kathe* refers to the prevalence of Buddhism in Tuḷuva.²

Neither the later nor the earlier notices of the spread of Buddhism are so convincing as the following considerations which refer in unmistakable terms to the prevalence of Buddhism in Tuḷuva in the early centuries of the Christian era. At Kadri, a suburb of Mangalore, are some caves called popularly "Pāṇḍava caves". These are identical with the numerous Buddhist caves which were used as places of retreat in the southern parts of the peninsula, and which have been

bhījanarkal guṇigaḷ ||

abhimāṃgaḷ atyuggrar ||

gabhīra-cittar vivēkigaḷ Nāḍavarggaḷ ||

Kavirājamārgga, II. v. 26 In an earlier connection he remarks thus : *Kannadaḷke Nāḍavar oḷar*. *Ibid*, I. v. 42. Mr. S. B. Joshi identifies the Nāḍavars mentioned here with the Nāḍavars of Tuḷuva. *Mahārāstrada Mūla* p. 9. (Dharwar, 1934) Mr. D. R. Bendrey, M.A., tells me that the Nāḍavars were the same as the Naṭas of early India history. B. A. S.

1 On Badda Dāsa, read, Codrington *A Short History of Ceylon*, pp. 29, 34. (London, 1926). Mr. Aygal places Badda Dasa in the twelfth century A.D. *Dakṣina Kannada Jīlleya Prācīna Itihāsa*, pp. 315-6

2. Rice, *Mys. Insc.*, Intr. p. lxxxviii; *E. C.* II., p. 45 (1st ed.).

assigned to an age ranging from the second to the sixth century of the Christian era.¹ We shall presently see that Kadarikā was a Buddhist centre even so late as the tenth century A.D.

Another consideration which prompts one to maintain that Buddhism was popular in early times in Tuḷuva is the fact of the existence of numerous stones called *śāstāvu kallu*, or as in some places, *śāstāveśvara*. Almost every temple, especially in the Uḍipi tāluka, has a special shrine called the *śāstāvu guḍi*. Thus in the well known Ananteśvara temple at Uḍipi, there is the *guḍi* of Śāsatāveśvara, while in the Śankaranārāyaṇa temple at Koḍavūru near Udipi, there is likewise a *śāstāvu guḍi*. Daily worship is being done to the deities in these *guḍis*.² At Ubaraḍika Muttūru, sixteen miles north of Sulya, and at Koḍipāḍi, four miles west of Puttūr, are two temples of the *śāstāvu* god. The word *śāstāvu*, according to Amrasimha, is one of the names of Buddha:—

Munindrah S'riḡhanah S'āstā-muniḥ S'ākya-muniḥ-tu yaḥ |
sa-S'ākya-simḥah Sarvārtha-siddhah S'auddhodaniḥ-ca saḥ |
Gautamah-ca-Arkabandhuh-ca Māyā-devī-sutah-cā saḥ ||³

It is not unlikely that the *śāstāvu kallu* and the *śāstāvu* gods worshipped in Tuḷuva today are the relics

1. *Ep. Rept. of the S Circle for 1907*, pp. 60-61.

2. A village called Śāstāvu lies south of the *grāma* of Kokkarane, near Surālu in the Uḍipi taluka. No trace of Buddhism can be seen here. But I am told that there is a Trimurti (image ?) in Śāstāvu. Then again there is a village called Śāstana near Śāligrāma, also in the same tāluka. B. A. S.

3. *Amarakośa*, I. 14-15.

of those far-off times when Buddhism was one of the most important religions of the land.

Names of goddesses and of towns afford, again, clues to the history of Buddhism in ancient Tuluva. Of the names of towns, we shall select only one well known example – Mangalore. This town has two other names—Māyikal and Kodiyāl. Of these the latter is applied to the northern part of the town to what is still known as *Koḍiyāla-guttu*. This name is neither so popular nor so ancient as the other name Māyikal, which is the designation of the original part of the town in the south. Māyikal is derived from *Māyā-kāḷa* or *Māyā-kana*, meaning “The abode (space, place) of Māyā”. The name, therefore appropriately describes the “Town of Mayā”. Now, when we realize that the patron deity of Mangalore is Mangalā Devī, also called Ādī Devī, whose well known temple stands in the very locality called Māyikal, and that Mangalā Devī or Ādī Devī seems to have been no other than the Buddhist goddess Tārā Bhagavatī,¹ we may well understand why Mangalore was called *Māyā-kala*, or the Town of Māyā.

Other facts support this assumption of ours. Mangalore is just two and a half miles south of Kadirikā, which, as will be proved presently, contained a Buddhist *vihāra*. One may not be far wrong in assuming that the temple of Māyā or Maṅgala was in some manner connected with the *vihāra* at Kadarikā. More-

1. Mangala is another name of Tārā. *JRAS* for 1894, p. 85.

over, the present day custom of offerings animal sacrifices to the goddess Maṛi Ammā, whose shrine is not far from the temple of the goddess Mangalā, strikingly recalls one feature of the goddess Durgā who, as pointed out by us elsewhere, was no other than the Brahmanical counterpart of Tārā Bhagavatī.¹

The Uḍipī tāluka contains many places which seem to have been once centres of Buddhist worship. In an earlier connection we mentioned four religious places reputed to have been created by Paraśurāma in order to guard Uḍipī. These were Kuñjāru, Indrāṇi, Kannarapādi, and Puttūru.² Divesting the tradition of its Pauranic garb, it seems that these four places were no other than Buddhist centres. At least the name

1 Cf. Saletore, *The Wild Tribes in Indian History*, pp. 26-27, 29. The Mahalingeśvara temple at Tenkanḍiyūru, also called Belkaḷe, near Uḍipī, and the Śankaranārāyaṇa temple at Kodavūru, also near Uḍipī, may have been likewise originally Buddhist centres. They contain *śāstāvu gudiś*. The Viṣnumūrti temple at Kidiyūru, also a suburb of Uḍipī, was in all probability Buddhist in origin. A close examination of this temple has revealed the following: 1. The structure and shape of this temple recalls that of the Anantesvara temple at Uḍipī and the *vihāra* at Kadirikā. 2. Of the Viṣnumūrti temple and the Yaksini *gudi* at Kidiyūru, the latter is older. This Yaksini was Cāmundeśvari, i.e., Durgā. The wooden image of Cāmundeśvari has been done away with because it was eaten by white ants. The priest of the temple was, however, unable to tell me as to when the image of Cāmundeśvari was destroyed. 3. The *lingas* in the outer *prākāra* of the temple show that the Viṣnumūrti temple was once Śaivite. That is to say, originally a Buddhist *vihāra*, it must have passed first into the hands of the Śaivites, and then into those of the Vaiṣnavites. B. A. S.

2. Some accounts substitute Baḷūru for Kuñjāru, and Kaḍi yāḷi for Indrāṇi. B. Srinivasa Acarya, *Uḍipī-Kṣetra Mahimā*, p. 4 (Uḍipī, 1923).

Durgā Bhagavatī given to the goddess of Puttūru clearly suggests this.¹ This is further proved by the bare name of goddess Bhagavatī given to the goddess, as in Niruvāra (Nīlāvāra) in the same Uḍipi tāluka. It was to this temple of the goddess Bhagavatī that, as narrated in connection with the events of the reign of the king Vīra Pāṇḍya Ālupendradeva, a gift of money was made by his queen Balla Mahā Devī in the presence of the ministers and others.² The goddess Bhagavatī was also called Durgā as in A.D. 1345, when a gift was made to her in the reign of the Ālupa king Vīra Kulāśekhara Ālupendradeva II.³

In the Kārkaṭa tāluka, too, there seem to have been centres which were originally Buddhist in origin. The Durgā Parameśvarī temple to which a gift of land seems to have been made, as recorded in an undated and damaged inscription of the Ālupa king Kāmadeva,⁴ was evidently in the hands of the Buddhists before it

1. It may be recalled here that the goddess Durgā Bhagavatī of Puttūru was well known as a protectress and a saviouress. This is exactly one of the attributes of the Buddhist goddess Tārā. Was the god Hayagrīva of the Sōde Matha of Uḍipi originally a Buddhist Mahāyāna deity? On Hayagrīva, read Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 37, 68 seq. (London-Calcutta, 1924); Sādhana-mālā, II, p. 508, (Baroda, 1928). B. A. S.

2. 491 of 1928-9, op. cit.

3. 496 of 1928-9, op. cit. We may not be far wrong in assuming that the famous goddess Mūkāmbikā of Kollūru in the Kundāpura tāluka, may have been originally Buddhist. Mūkāmbikā is celebrated as a goddess of learning. This attribute she shares with Mañjuśrī; but it must be admitted that there is no proof forthcoming in support of our assumption. B. A. S.

4. 477 of 1928-9, op. cit.

had passed into those of the Śaivites. There is every reason to believe that the goddess now known as Gaurī in the suburb of Mūḍubidre called Prāntya, was originally known as Durgā. This is proved by two records dated A. D. 1205-6 and A. D. 1215 respectively of the times of Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I. In both these inscriptions the goddess is called Durgā Devī and not Gaurī.¹ Two and a half centuries later in A.D. 1444 during the reign of Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva IV, the same name is applied to the goddess. This suggests that the name Gaurī must have been applied to the goddess after the middle of the fifteenth century A.D.

To the names Ādī Devī, Durgā, Durgā Bhagavatī, or merely Bhagavatī, which indicate the Buddhist origin of the temples under review, we may add one more name which proves beyond doubt the prevalence of Buddhism in early Tuluva. This is the name Bhaṭṭārakī applied to the goddess at Poḷali. As is related in an undated inscription of the Ālupa prince Kumāra Pāṇḍya Jayasīgarasa, a gift of land was made by him to the goddess Holala Bhaṭṭārakī.² From this we may reasonably assure that the well known Poḷali Durgā Parameśvarī of the modern times was no other than Holala Bhaṭṭārakī of the early ages.³

1 51 and 52 of 1901, op. cit.

2. 380 of 1901, op. cit.

3. It cannot be made out whether Udayāvara itself was once under the Buddhist influence. One of the inscriptions cited above calls Ranasāvara *Sambukallu Bhaṭṭāraka*. The title Bhaṭṭāraka stands

The next consideration concerning the existence of Buddhism in Tuluva hails from Kadri or Kadirikā, near Mangalore. The fact of the Ālupa ruler Kunda-varmarasa having set up the image of Lokeśvara in the *vihāra* of Kadirikā is enough to prove that that centre was originally a Buddhist monastery. The appellation of *vihāra* used for the locality and the identification of the image of Lokeśvara itself support our assumption. Lokeśvara was essentially a Buddhist god. This is proved by an inscription which commemorates the construction by a Jayanta chief of a Buddha *vihāra* at

no doubt for *rājā* as well as for *priest*. Amarasimha uses it as a synonym for *rājā* *Amarakosa*, Nātyavarga, 13. Kalidāsa used the term *Bhattāraka* to mean an official *Bhattāraka ito'rdham yusmākam sumano mūlyam bhavatu Śakuntalam*, VI, *praveśaka*. The Jains used that appellation for their rulers as well as for their priests. But, as explained elsewhere, Jainism was introduced in Tuluva in the ninth century A.D. The *biruda Śambukallu Bhattāraka*, therefore, has to be referred to a non-Jaina origin of an earlier date. It may be argued that Śambu being another name of Śiva, the expression has to be interpreted in the sense of "Bhattāraka of Śambukallu" (i.e., king or great lord of Śambukallu). This is unintelligible. So we have to interpret *Bhattāraka* in the Buddhist sense of worshipper. This would mean that Ranasāgara was "A worshipper of Śambukallu" (i.e., the stone of Śiva = Linga). Two other expressions occurring in the same stone inscription are to be noted. These are *Śivaliṣya Brahmapuram mareda mahāpātakam-akku* and *Avici mahā-narakakke bhāgyam akku*. Whether the reference is to the Brahman conception of *pañca-mahā-pātakam* as explained by Manu (XI 55) or to the Buddhist idea of the same (Cf. Fleet, *Cor. Ins. Indic.* III. p. 34 n.), it cannot be made out. Again the reference to the hell called *Avici* is not clear. The Hindus considered *Avici* as one of the *narakas* (*Amarakosa*, IX, *Narakavarga*, 1), But the Mahāyāna Buddhists have also described *Avici* in detail. *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Part III. pp 635, 664-665. (Trivandrum Skt. Series, No. LXXXIV. Trivandrum 1925). Cf. Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, p. 54, vv. 732-738 (Lahore, 1934).

Baḷḷigāve by the *Mahāpradhāna Daṇḍanāyaka* Rūpa-bhattayya, to provide for which and for the worship of Tārā Bhagavatī, the gods Keśava, Lokeśvara and Buddha, he made ample endowments which are specified in detail. This is related in an inscription dated A.D. 1065¹

Indeed, Lokeśvara was no other than the northern Buddhist Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. He is represented as the consort of Tārā. The image of Lokeśvara at Kadirika is, on the whole, in conformity with that described in the northern texts. He is described as indigo-coloured with three faces which are black, white and red. The first pair of hands embraces red *lasyā mātri* and holds *vajra* and bell, the second pair holds an upper garment of human skin; and the third holds *ḍamaru* and skull with blood. And he has a *khatvāṅga* in his arm pit, and he is adorned with jewels. The absence of other details given in the northern texts, viz., that his left leg flexed rests on Īśvara, and the right extended rests on Sītā; and his orange hair being adorned with *udumvara* flowers²—may be explained by saying that the difference is due to the local atmosphere.

The statement in the same inscription found on the pedestal of the image of Lokeśvara, that the Ālupa king Kundavarmarasa removed the evil of grink (*surā-pāna krtodośo yena ājñā nirākrtah*); the general shape of

1. E. C. VII. Sk. 170, p. 112.

2. Waddell, *JRAS* for 1894, pp. 82-83.

the temple of Kadri which people call now Mañjunātha temple, but which is like the shape of the Ananteśvara temple at Uḍipi, recalling more a Buddhist *vihāra* than a Hindu temple, and the existence of Buddhist caves on to adjoining hill—these support our suggestion that Kadirikā was essentially a Buddhist centre in the tenth century A.D.¹

We have now to inquire into the causes of the decline of Buddhism in Tuḷuva. Buddhism certainly was never the religion of the rulers of Tuḷuva. Almost till the middle ages the names of the most prominent Mahāyāna goddess survived in Tuluva. But grave causes had already brought about the decline of Buddhism outside Tuluva. Of these the most important was the advance of Jainism the champions of which inflicted crushing defeats on Buddhist disputants, by the seventh century A.D., in Kañci and other well known Hindu capitals.² Then came the rise of Advaitism under the great Śankarācārya somewhere in the middle of the eighth century A.D. But the most potent cause which brought about the disappearance

1. These considerations invalidate the assertion made by the Madras Government Epigraphist Mr. Venkoba Rao that the temple was originally a Jaina one. *Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle* for 1921, p. 8. On the worship of Avalokiteśvara in Kāśmīra in the thirteenth century, read Sten Konow, *E. I.*, IX. p. 301. Cowell has some remarks to make on Avalokiteśvara. *I. A.* VII, p. 249, seq. On Avalokiteśvara, read Bhattācāryya, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 33 seq. The further identification of this image of Kadirikā will be the subject of a separate paper B. A. S.

2. For a detailed account, see the writer's forthcoming book on Buddhism.

of Buddhism from Tuḷuva was the strong Śaivite leaning of the Ālupa rulers whose religious beliefs we shall now describe in some detail.

3 ŚAIVISM

On the strength of epigraphical evidence we may definitely maintain that the predominant religion under the Ālupas was Śaivism. In this section we shall first give such of the evidence as can be gathered from the stone epigraphs in regard to the faith of the Ālupas, and then deal with the history of a famous religious institution a great teacher of which was the *rāja-guru* of one of the Ālupa kings.

The indigenous Nāga origin of the Ālupas, as the reader must have gathered from the remarks we made while delineating the political history of Tuḷuva, was perhaps responsible to some extent for the inherent Śaiva tendency of the Ālupas. According to our calculation, Śrī Māramma Ālvarasar is the earliest historical figure in the Ālupa genealogy, although the Halmidi stone inscription suggests the name of an earlier king. One of the stone inscriptions in the Śambhukallu temple at Udayāvara, ends with the word *Goravaru*.¹ This word refers to the Śaivite priests called Sthānikas or Goravas, who have played a significant part in the religious history of the land.² Another stone inscription of king Āḷvarasar, also found in the

1. *99 of 1901*, op cit.

2. This subject will be discussed separately by me elsewhere.
B. A. S.

same temple, not only contains the same word *Goravaru*, but also refers to the god Śambhukallu (i. e., Īśvara) to whom evidently a grant was made.¹

Coming to the times of Citravāhana I, we have seen how he was a patron of Brahmans learned in the Vedas. The statements that “those who enjoyed the gift were held as consecrated to the thirty-three (i. e., the gods)”, and “ whoever else takes or gives this is guilty of the five great sins,” denote that the Śaivite religious feelings remained unchanged under Citravāhana I.

There cannot be any doubt that during the reign of Ranasāgara, Śaivism continued to be the dominant religion in Tuluva. An indiscernible bond connected Udayāvara with the well known city of Humccha or Pattu Pombuchapura. This is evident from the manner in which a *viragal* found in Udayāvara ends. It deals, as we have already seen, with the death of a follower of Ranasāgara named Viñja Praharabhūṣana's son Kāmakōḍa in an encounter with the followers of Śvetavāhana, the rival of Ranasāgara. The *viragal* narrates that Kāmakōḍa “pulled out the tongue of those who were not attached to the Paśupata lord..”, and seized, and destroyed, and assaulted those who were not attached to the lord of Paṭṭi.²

The veneration of the people for one of the most celebrated spots in Tuluva, associated with the name

1. 96 of 1901, op. cit.

2. 108 of 1901, op. cit.

of Śiva—*S'iva-haḷḷi* (The village of Śiva)—is seen in a record of king Prthvīśāgara (A.D. 730—A.D. 750) which not only reiterates the close relationship between Udayāvara and Patti, but also gives another significant detail which unfortunately for want of adequate data has to remain unexplained. This epigraph narrates that those who destroyed the grant would “be covered with the five great sins (of one) who destroys *Vāraṇāsi* and *Śivallī*”, while he who confirmed it would acquire “the fruit of a horse-sacrifice”¹ To the Tuluvas, therefore, Śivallī was as celebrated and holy as Benares. But why the merits of a horse-sacrifice which are met with for the first time only in this record, should have been mentioned here, we are unable to explain. Perhaps the horse-sacrifice is associated with the valour of king Prthvīśāgara. While dealing with the public grants in the reign of king Vijayāditya, we noted in an earlier context the references to the fruits of a horse-sacrifice and the importance of Śivallī and *Vāraṇāsi*.² Another inscription registering a gift to the god Subrahmanya, also noted in the previous pages, conclusively proves the strong Śaivite tendency of that ruler.³

More than two centuries later we come across interesting facts concerning the spiritual teacher of the

1. 102 of 1901, op. cit. On the villages comprising Śivallī, see *infra* Appendix.

2. 98 of 1901, op. cit.

3. 372 of 1927, op. cit.

Ālupa king and the lineage to which he belonged. This is gathered from a damaged stone inscription found in the Someśvara temple at Mūḍukēri in Bāra-kūru. The original in Kannaḍa runs thus:—

*S'rī Ganādhīpataye namah (śubha)m-astu svastī śrīmatu
Durvāsa(s) munīndra-vamśa-tīlaka...ya santatī sañjātar-appa
śrīmat Gagana-S'iva-ācāryarige Dattāḷpendra śrī-Māra
Oḍḍama Devīgaḷu Bārahakanyā-purada piriya-aramaneyalu
hattu-kēriya halaru muntāgi Kārakaḷada Kadurabe(la)m-
beṭṭina tamma brahmadāyada...(vai)tti a 60 mūḍe bittuva
(ba)yalanu je...yalu nakharā muntāgi bittaru pūjeya (dhā)
reyaneredu kottaru ā-bhūmi avara santatī santatīya śrī-
mathakke naḍuvudu yī dharmavannu ar(a)su nāḍu nakhara
pāl(ī)si bahavaru yī dharmmavan-āva kedisiḍa...Vāranāsiyalu
108 kavileyānu Brāhmarānu konda doṣa-sva-dattām para-
dattām... (the epigraph breaks off here).¹*

The contents of the above grant are briefly the following:—Dattāḷpendra Śrīmāra and his queen Oḍḍama Devī seated in the senior palace at Bārahakanyāpura, in conjunction with the citizens of the ten streets (*hattu kēri*) and others, gave to Gagana Śivācārya a gift of land in which sixty *muras* of rice could be sowed, situated in the high-level ground (*bettu*) called Kadurabelambettu of Kārakaḷa. This gift was given in perpetuity to the *matha* to which Gagana Śivācārya belonged. The king, (the representatives of) the district, and the municipal corporation (*arasu nātu nakhara*) were to protect the *dharma* (gift).

1. 124 of 1901, S. I. I. VII. No. 134, p. 165.

The above grant is important from the following points of view:—

(1) It confirms the evidence supplied by other records concerning the corporate life of the Tuḷu people.

(2) The clauses at the end-*sva dattām para-dattām*-etc., show that the people as well as the engravers in Tuluva were not unaware of the Pauranic sanction underlying the protection and violation of grants.

(3) It gives us the name of a new Ālupa ruler-Dattālpendra Śrīmāra-, whose date we can determine by fixing the date of his spiritual teacher.

(4) The inscription gives interesting details concerning the *guru* of Dattālpendra Śrīmāra. He was called Gagana Śivācārya, and he had the *biruda ornament to the spiritual lineage of Durovāsas*, and another indistinct *birudu* which ends in the words...*va santāti sañjātar-appa* (one produced [arisen] in).

The inscription is however undated. We have to fix the age of Gagana Śivācārya, and of his royal disciple. This can be done only when we find out the antecedents of the spiritual line to which Gagana Śivācārya belonged.

Gagana Śivācārya mentioned in the Bārakūru inscription is to be identified with Gagana Śiva to whom, on Wednesday the 9th March A.D. 959 (Śaka 880 expired the cyclic year Kāḷāyukta, Wednesday, the 13th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna), the village of Kaṅkem (mod. Kaṅki in the Junior Mirāj state) in the Karahāta

district, was granted by the Rāṣtrakūta monarch Kṛṣṇa III Akālavaraṣa Vallabha. The donee is praised as one "versed in all the Śaiva *siddhāntas*, the pupil of the preceptor Īśanaśiva, who is the head of the establishment of Valkaleśvara in Karahāta, and is an emigrant of the Kārañja-kheta group (of villages)".¹

Before we proceed to narrate a few details based on epigraphical evidence concerning the *matha* to which Īśanaśiva and his disciple Gagana Śivācārya belonged, we may note that the age of Dattālpendra Śrīmāra A.D. 959 agrees very well with the conclusions we have arrived at while delineating the Ālupa chronology. Dattālpendra Śrīmāra would, therefore, have to be placed after Ālva Ranañjaya and before Kundavarmā II.

From the above grants relating to land in Kārkala in Tuluva and in Kankem in Karahāta, it appears that Īśana Śivācārya and his successor Gagana Śivācārya were reckoned to be the heads of the Valkaleśvara *matha* in Karahāta in the ninth century A.D.; and that Gagana Śivācārya, and, therefore, his preceptor too, belonged to the spiritual lineage founded by the sage Durvāsas.

Which is the institution associated with the name of the sage Durvāsas? How, when, and where did it originate? And over which parts of the land did its

1 D. R. Bhandarkar, *E. I.* IV. pp. 278-290. Hultsch wrote in a note (n. 1) on the above (p. 290) "or perhaps a descendant of the (spiritual) lineage of (the *matha* at) Karañja-kheta." This, on the evidence of the Bārakūru record, is inadmissible. Dr. Bhandarkar's interpretation—"group of villages"—is, therefore, correct. B. A. S.

branches spread? These questions will now be answered.

The sage Durvāsas, founder of the spiritual line to which Gagana Śivācārya belonged, appears in many Tāntric works as the preceptor presiding over the Āmartaka *matha*.¹ The Tantric literature is said to have been introduced into the world by him. He is credited with the composition of the works *Prāśakti-mahimnāh* in praise of the goddess Prāśakti, *Āryādvicati*, *Devimahimnāh-stōtram*, *Paraśaiva mahimnāh-stotram*, *S'ambhumahimnāh-stotram*, and others.²

But the identification of the Āmartaka *matha* reputed to have been founded by the sage Durvāsas, is a difficult matter. The few historical notices of the institution associated with the name of that sage, bring to light another *matha* which had its origin in the north, but which in course of time spread its influence over the south and the west. We meet with the name of the sage Durvāsas in the history of the Dahalamandala situated between the rivers Bhagirathī (Ganges) and the Narmadā. The Dahala (or Dabhala) country was conterminous with the Cedi country in Central India,

1 Hultsch, *Report on Skt. Mss.* No. 2, Intr p xvi, seq

2 Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I. p. 257; II p 55. Nirmaḷa Muni Guru of Tiruvalur in the Tanjore district, in his *Laghuprabhā*, a commentary on Aghora Śivācārya's *Kriya-karma-dyotika*, relates that the Tantric literature originated with the sage Durvāsas *Ep Rept of the Southern Circle*, for 1917, p 126. In the Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa temple at Hesaraghatta, in the Mysore State, the god about two feet high is seated on a high pedestal. He is said to have been worshipped by the sage Durvāsas. *Mys Arch Rept.* for 1916, p. 26.

with Tripurī (mod. Tewār, about six miles from Jubbulpore) as its capital. In a record of about A.D. 1162, we are informed that Kṛṣṇa, the progenitor of the Kalacuriyas, had seized the Nine Lakh Ḍahala country and had made it his own.¹ Three Lakhs (of villages out of the nine lakhs) became the property of the followers of the sage Durvāsas.

These and other interesting details are given in the huge Malakāpuram pillar inscription of the Kākatīya queen Rudra Mahādevī dated Śaka 1183 (A.D. 1261, March the 25th). This epigraph records the gift of the villages of Mandara on the south bank of the Kṛṣṇavenī, and of Velaṅgapūṇḍi (Velagapūḍi), to the teacher Viśveśvara Śambhu, by the queen. The inscription relates that in the line of Śaiva teachers founded by the sage Durvāsas, appeared Sadbhava Śambhu, who received from the Kaḷacuriya king Yuvarāja Deva as a maintenance gift (*bhikṣā*) the Three Lakh Province. This teacher founded a *matha* called Golaki *matha* and transferred the Three Lakh Province for the maintenance of the teachers of that *matha*. Golaki or Golagi was a contraction of Golagiri in Navalakṣa Ḍahaḷa Tripurī.²

The age of Sadbhava Śambhu can be determined in the following manner:—He was the contemporary of the Kākatīya Yuvarāja Deva whom we take to be the first of that name. Now, the date of Yuvarāja Deva

1. E. C. XI. Dg. 42, p. 53.

2. 253 of 1905.

himself is not known but it may be fixed thus : Yuvarāja Deva I's daughter Kundakā Devī married Amoghavarṣa II of the Rāṣtrakūta family. King Amoghavarṣa II's brother king Govinda IV's dates are known : A.D. 918-A.D. 933. Likewise do we know that king Amoghavarṣa II's contemporary king Kṛṣṇa III lived from A.D. 939 till A.D. 968. Therefore, it is reasonable to assign Amoghavarṣa II to about A.D. 920. Supposing we place the marriage of Kandukā Devī with Amoghavarṣa II in *circa* A.D. 920, we may assign her father Yuvarāja Deva I to about A.D. 900¹. If this is allowed, then, Sadbhava Śambhu, the contemporary of king Yuvarāja Deva I, may have lived in about A.D. 900.

The Malakāpuram pillar inscription of queen Rudra Mahādevī informs us that in the same line was born Soma Śambhu, who composed in his own name the work called *Somaśambhupaddhati*. He had thousands of disciples who, it is interesting to note, were by their mere sight capable of blessing or cursing lords of the earth.² It cannot be made out, however, how many teachers intervened between Sadbhava Śambhu and Soma Śambhu.³

1. Read Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dis.* pp. 32, and dynastic table on p. 57 (1st ed.).

2. 94 of 1917 ; *Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle* for 1917, pp. 123-125.

3. The assumption of Aufrecht that Soma Śambhu was the pupil of Sa-Śiva, who has been identified with Sadbhava Śiva, and that he flourished in about A.D. 1073, is inadmissible. *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1917, p. 126. We have shown that Sadbhava Śiva can be placed in *circa* A.D. 900. One century elapses before we meet with the name of Soma Śambhu. Hence the Malakāpuram pillar inscription

The Malakāpuram pillar inscription further tells us that after Soma Śambhu came Śakti Śambhu, and that the pupil of the latter was Kīrti Śambhu. Then came the revered Vimala Śiva born in the Kerala country, who was highly respected by the Kalacuriya kings. His pupil was Dharma Śiva or Dharma Śambhu whose pupil was Viśveśvara Śambhu, who administered initiation (*dīkṣā*) to the Kalacuriya king Ganapati, the father of queen Rudra Mahādevī. The same record gives a few facts concerning Viśveśvara Śambhu. He was a Vedic scholar, and a resident of the village Pūrvagrāma in the province of Rāḍhā of the Gauda country. The Kalacuriya, Coda (Cola), and Mālava kings were his royal disciples. King Ganapati actually styled himself son of his teacher. “ with hanging ornaments and a high tuft of gold-coloured matted hair, a brilliant face and necklaces, the teacher Viśveśvara Śambhu seated in the hall of instruction (*vidyā-maṇṭapa*) of Ganapati’s palace was indeed an object worthy of sight.” It was to this great teacher that queen Rudra Mahādevī gave on March the 25th A.D. 1261 the village of Mandara, as mentioned above.¹

We may be permitted to mention here the successors of Viśveśvara Śambhu before passing on to the remarkable influence which the Golakī *matha* wielded in

merely records thus “In the same line was born Soma Śambhu ” If we accept Aufrecht’s date for Soma Śambhu, it would violate the contemporaneity of Sadbhava Śambhu with the Kalacuriya king Yuvarāja Deva, as given in the Malakāpuram inscription. B. A. S.

1. *Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle* for 1917, pp. 123-125, op cit

the Tamīl and Telugu lands. In an inscription dated in the tenth regnal year of an unidentified king called Māra-varman *alias* Tribhuvana Cakravartin Sundara Pāṇḍya, we are told that the disciple's disciple of Śrī Deśikendra of the Golakī-*vamśa* and the *Lakṣādhyaṇī-santāna* in the Āryāvarta country, was Īśana Śiva Rāvula.¹ The fact that Īśana Śiva Rāvula belonged to the Golakī-*vamśa* clearly denotes that he was of the same lineage to which Viśveśvara Śambhu belonged. From other records we know that Viśveśvara Śiva was also known as Viśveśvara Śiva Deśika.² The Śrī-Deśikendra mentioned above, therefore, could have been no other than Viśveśvara Śiva Deśika.

We do not know whether Īśana Śiva Rāvula, who was the disciple's disciple of Viśveśvara Śiva Deśika, was the same person as the Īśana Śiva Yogīndra who, as is narrated in the stone inscription found in the Brhad-āmbikā temple at Devikāpuram, North Arcot district, was the head of the Golakī *matha*, and who "obeyed the command of Śiva (i.e. died)."³ Neither is it possible to say whether Īśana Śiva Yogīndra was the same as Īśana Śiva Ācārya of the Bhikṣā *matha*, who was one of the trustees of the same temple, and who is mentioned in a record dated Śaka 1442 (A.D. 1520-1) found in the same temple.⁴ Inscriptions ranging from Śaka 1442 till Śaka 1455 (A.D. 1533-4) have been found

1. 209 of 1924, see also *ibid* No 211

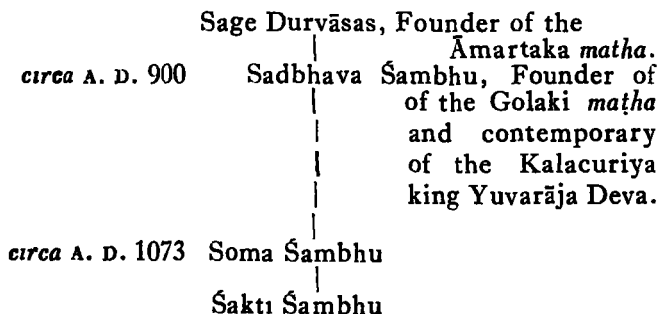
2. 195, 223, 257, 273 and 323 of 1905 These were found at Tri-purāntakam in the Kurnool district

3. 400 of 1912

4. 352 of 1912.

concerning Īsana Śiva Ācārya.¹ If the Īsana Śiva Ācārya, trustee of the Devikāpuram temple, is to be identified with the Īsana Śiva Yogīndra mentioned above, his death may be placed after A.D. 1533-4. And if we allot thirty-five years to him, it is possible that he may have lived in about A.D. 1480. His age does not agree with that of Viśveśvara Śiva Deśika's disciple's disciple Īsana Śiva Rāvula who, according to the same calculation, may be placed in about A.D. 1332. We have, therefore, to assume that Īsana Śiva Rāvula was an earlier teacher of the Golaki *matha*.²

From the foregoing remarks the following spiritual lineage of the Golaki *matha* in the Dahanamandala may be deduced—



1. 352, 356, 368, 373 of 1912.

2. Devikāpuram in the North Arcot district is still the headquarters of a line of Śaivācāryas whose head is known as Śaṭṭanātha Śivācārya. These are the preceptors of certain sects of the Bēricetti Śaiva merchants. It is opined that they are connected with the Jñāna Śivācāryas of Mullundrum in the same district, who are the religious preceptors of the Tamil oil-monger (*vāṇiya*) caste. *Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle* for 1924, pp. 114-115. B. A. S.

	Kīrti Śambhu
A. D. 1247	Bhimala Śambhu (born in Keraḷa)
	Dharma Śiva Śambhu
A. D. 1252	Viśveśvara Śambhu Śrī Deśikendra, contemporary of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati
circa A. D. 1292	Disciple
circa A. D. 1332	Īsana Śiva Rāvula, contemporary of Māravarman Sun- dara Pāṇḍya ¹

We now turn to the Golakī centres in the Tamiḷ land. Tīruvarūr in the Tanjore district was the seat of a Śaiva *matha* called the Kṛṣṇa Golakī *matha*. Nothing is known of the *gurus* of this line. The *matha* figures at the beginning of thirteenth century A.D.² Kallaḍakurucci in the Tinnevely district had also a Śaiva *matha*. Stone inscriptions dated only in the 3rd year Āvaṇi, and in the 3rd year Purattāḍi respectively, of the reign of an unidentified Jatāvarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Vīra

1. There is a Rudra Śivācārya with dates ranging from Śaka 1436 (A.D. 1514-5) to Śaka 1459 (A.D. 1537) mentioned in inscriptions (164, 172 and 179 of 1924). In what manner he was connected with the Golakī pontificate is not certain. (*Ep. Rep. of S. Circle* for 1924, p. 115) There is a Viśveśvara Śivācārya between Śaka 1429 (A.D. 1507-8) and Śaka 1446 (A.D. 1524-5). (354, 365, 389 and 390 of 1912). He was also intimately connected with the Devikāpuram temple. Evidently he was a contemporary of Īsana Śivācārva of Devikāpuram mentioned above. B. A. S.

2. *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1910, p. 97.

Pāndya Deva, are the only sources of information for these details. In the first we are told that provision for the reading of the *Tirujñāna*, etc., was made in the agreement by eight Śaiva Brahmans of the temple of Laksmīvarāhasvāmī of the same locality, to a certain Pugali Perumāl belonging to the lineage of Jñānāmrtācārya of the Hilahī (i.e., Golakī) *matha*. The other inscription records a grant of land by the Śaiva Brahmans of that same temple to Aghora Deva of Jñānāmrtācārya *santāna* of Golakī *matha* for the maintenance of a flower garden, etc.¹ This Aghora Deva is called Śolan Śīyan *alias* Aghora Deva of the Jiyār-*santāna* in a record dated only in the fourth regnal year of Māravarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Sundara Pāndya "who was pleased to distribute the Cola country."²

Tirukoḍugunru *alias* Daksina Kailāsa in Tirumalai-nāḍu also had a Golakī *matha*. The head of this *matha* was called Pāṇḍi-mandalādhīpati *alias* Lakṣādhyāyī-*santānam* of the Golakī *matha*. He is said to have been the pontiff of the Arubattuvūvantirumaḍam at Dakṣinā Kailāsam. The record which gives us these details is dated Śaka 142(2) (A.D. 1500-1), and it registers a gift of the village Kīlāi Kuḍalur by Eppulī Nāyakar to the same high priest.³ It has been rightly surmised that he may have been a predecessor of, or identical with Īsana Śiva who is called Pāṇḍinattu (*Mudaliyar*), Paṇḍimandalā-

1. 359 and 362 of 1916.

2. 364 of 1916.

3. 213 of 1924.

dhīpati alias *Laksadhyāyī-saṅtanam* of Dakṣina Kailāsa in Tirumalai-nādu. This inscription is dated Śaka 1452 Vikṛti (A.D. 1530-1).¹

The Telugu land too possessed well known *Golaki mathas*. Of these *Puspagiri*² and *Tripurāntakam* in the Kurnool district were two seats which wielded some influence in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. The names of Śānta Śiva, Dharma Śiva, Bhīmala Śiva, and Viśveśvara Śiva Deśika are met with in the records discovered at *Tripurāntakam*.³ These names are to be referred to those already seen in connection with the original *Golaki matha* mentioned above.⁴

In the Karnāṭaka the most prominent *Golaki* centre seems to have been established at *Valkaleśvara* in *Karahāta* to which we now revert in the description of the events concerning *Tuluva*.⁵ The accounts we

1 193 of 1924, *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1924, p. 114. *Tirupparankunram* in the Madura district seems to have had also a *Golaki matha*. Rangachari, *Top. List* II, No. 403 p. 1040.

2 323 of 1905.

3 195, 223, 273 and 323 of 1905.

4. A Jñāna Śivācārya and one of his successors Pañcāksara Guru, the latter being the author of the Sanskrit work *Snapanasārāvalī*, are met with in certain Mss. Hultzsch, *Rep. on Skt. Mss.* II Intr. p. xviii. A stone inscription discovered in Alugurajupalle, Palnad taluka, Guntur district, and dated only in the sixty-third (regnal ?) year of the Kākatiya king Ganapati-deva Mahārāja, mentions a *Golaki matha*. 289 of 1930-1931.

5. Two stone inscriptions contain some details about the Mūlas-thānadeva temple at Mūlgunda (?). One is dated only in the seventh regnal year of the Western Cālukya monarch Trailokyamalla Someśvara I, i.e., in A.D. 1049-50 (the date of his accession being A.D. 1042). It records an assignment of the income by Holli Gāvunda, chief of

have given of the original Golaki *matha* and of some of its branches in the Tamil and Telugu lands, suggest that the two teachers of the Valkaleśvara *matha* – Ísana Śiva and his disciple Gagana Śiva – cannot be referred to any of the centres in the Telugu and Tamil lands. At the present stage of our investigations, we are unable to find out when the Valkaleśvara *matha* was established, and likewise the history of its pontificate prior to the times of Gagana Śivācārya's predecessor Ísana Śivācārya.

What we may maintain is that the Ālupa king Dattālpendra was the disciple of Gagana Śivācārya, that the latter was called the *ornament of the spiritual lineage of Durvāsas*, and that, therefore, his *matha* was in all likelihood in Karahāṭa. The fact that his *matha* was in Karahāṭa and that his royal disciple was in Tuḷuva need not come in the way of our establishing a spiritual relationship between them. We have to remember that since the beginning of Ālupa history the rulers of Udayāvara were intimately connected

Hosavūru, to Gangarasi Pandita, the *acārya* of the temple of Mulas-thāna, for the feeding of ascetics. (108 of *Appendix F* copied in Bombay-Karnataka. *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1926-7). Another record dated Śaka 984 Subhakt, Pausya Śu. 5 Monday (A.D. 1062, Friday the 18th January, the week day not corresponding) relates that the *Mahāsāmanṭa* Āycharasa was administering the Mūlgunda Twelve district, when the *śettis* of Mūlgunda made a gift of land after purchasing it from Bēllāla Sōyamayya, to Dhruveśvara Pandita, disciple of Gangarasi Pandita, for feeding ascetics, etc. (84 of *Appendix F* copied in Bombay-Karnataka; *Ep. Rep. ibid*; Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* III. p. 126). We cannot make out in what manner these two teachers were related to the Golaki *matha*. B. A. S.

with the Karnātaka. It was not only political proximity but cultural contiguity as well that brought the Ālupa kings under the tutelage of the Śaiva Ācāryas of the Karnātaka.

King Dattālpendra's successor was king Kundavarmarasa II. In the Sanskrit-Grantha inscription engraved on the pedestal of the Lokeśvara god at Kadirikā, as already narrated above, we are told that *S'rī Kundavarmā Gunava(ā)n Āluvendro mahipatiḥ pāda(ā) ravinda bhramaro Bālacandra S'khāmaneh*.¹ This proves that Bālacandra Śikhāmani was the royal preceptor of the Ālupa king Kundavarmā II. It cannot be made out whether Bālacandra Śikhāmani was of the same spiritual lineage to which Gagana Śivācārya belonged. The name Bālacandra Śikhāmani is not met with in any of the records dealing with the leaders of the Golaki *maṭha* in the Tamil, Telugu, or Karnātaka lands. On the other hand, Bālacandra was a name common among the Jaina *gurus*. But the installation of the Lokeśvara image in the *vihāra* of Kadirikā, and the marked leaning which the king showed to the Brahmans, as is evident from the statement—*dvijānāṃ agrahārebhyaḥ cāru cāritra sā(śā)linā*—reveal conclusively that Kundavarmarasa II was thoroughly Śaivite in his faith. Future finds alone may show that Bālacandra Śikhāmani was perhaps the successor of Gagana Śivācārya in the pontificate of the Valkaleśvara *maṭha*.

1. 27 B of 1901, op. cit.

The Ālupas continued to be devotees of Śiva till the times of Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I, *i.e.*, till the first quarter of the thirteenth century A.D. This is proved by the grants made in the presence of gods Mārkaṇdeśvara and Nakhareśvara in Bārakūru, and of the goddess Durgā either by the kings themselves or by citizens in the presence of the officers of the rulers.¹

But the age of Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I also witnessed the rise into prominence of another religion which had already been introduced into Tuluva, and which had made rapid progress over the whole of the Karnāṭaka. This was Jainism into the history of which at least so far as it concerns our topic, we shall presently enquire with the aid of contemporary epigraphs and tradition. But that the account of Śaivism under the Ālupas may be complete, we shall give such of the brief notices of that religion as are met with in the Ālupa records of the successors of Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I.

Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I (A.D. 1254-1267) and his queen Balla Mahādevī continued to bestow patronage on the Śaivite centres of Koṭa, Brahmāvūru, Nīruvāra, and Puttige, in the Uḍipi tāluka, as their epigraphs amply prove.² Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva's son and successor Nāgadevarasa (A.D. 1292-98) likewise was a

1. 171 and 176 of 1901, *op. cit.*, 52 of 1901, *op. cit.*

2. 370 of 1927; 485 of 1928-9; 490 of 1928-9; 491, 500 and 509 of 1928-9.

Śaivite. His gift to the god Nakhareśvara of Basarūru in A.D. 1292 bears evidence to his Śaivite faith¹ His successor Bankideva Ālupendradeva II gave public testimony to the liberal views which had always characterized the Ālupa family, when he made grants (specified in detail) in A.D. 1302 to the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara² The next ruler Soyideva Ālupendradeva was an avowed Śaivite. He himself granted gifts in the orthodox manner to the god Somanātha in Manigārakēri at Bārakūru in A.D. 1315.³ The much-damaged inscription dated A.D. 1345 of the reign of Vīra Kulāśekhara Ālupendradeva II, recording a gift to the temple of Durgā Bhagavatī,⁴ as narrated already, (gives us scope to assert that the Śaivite tradition at the Ālupa court continued unimpaired till the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. In fact, the gifts made by Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva II (A.D. 1346-A.D. 1366) to the servants of Bhārata Tīrtha Śrīpāda of Śringerī,⁵ only confirm our surmise.

➤ But with his successor Kulāśekhara Ālupendradeva III, in the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., Jainism which, since the days of Kulāśekhara Ālupendradeva I, had remained in the background, now appears prominently at the court of the Ālupa monarch. Śaivism, however, had taken too deep roots in the Ālupa

1. 415 of 1927-8, op. cit.

2. 17 of 1901, op. cit.

3. 157 of 1901, op. cit.

4. 496 of 1928-9, op. cit.

5. *My Arch. Rept.* for 1916, p. 57, op. cit.

mind. Hence we find the stone grant (*śilā-śāsanam*) given to the god Bankeśvara of Maṅgaḷūru by the last of the Ālupa kings Kuḷaśekhara Ālupendradeva IV, as recorded in the Kanara High School stone inscription dated only in the cyclic year Raktākṣi but assignable to A.D. 1441.¹ Nevertheless Jainism had already made sufficient progress in Tuluva by this time, and we have now, therefore, to describe the manner in which it came to be so conspicuous in Tuluva.

4. JAINISM

The main sources of information for the study of Jainism in Tuluva are the Hindu and Jaina tradition, epigraphs, and Jaina literature as preserved in the libraries of Jaina centres of Mūḍubidre and Kārkala. But since the last named source is inaccessible to the student of history, we have to rely mainly on the Jaina and Hindu tradition corroborated by the notices of Jainism in epigraphs discovered in Tuluva.

Hindu tradition contains notices of Jaina *rsis* who are said to have introduced Jainism into a part of Tuluva. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, for example, states that Ṛṣabha, the son of Nābhi by his queen Meru, having ruled with equity and wisdom, and having celebrated many sacrifices, resigned the sovereignty of the earth to his eldest son Bharata—after whom the earth came to be known as Bharatavarṣa—, and retiring to the hermitage of Pulastya, adopted the life of a *sanyāsin*. He

1. 23 B of 1901.

practised such rigorous penance that he was reduced to a mere collection of skin and fibres, and while in this state, went the way of all flesh ¹

The wanderings of this great teacher Ṛsabha are given in greater detail in the *Bhāgavata Purāna* which contains some details that are of interest to the student of Tuluva history. Like unto a potter's wheel moving by itself, Ṛsabha's body went to Koṅka, Veṅkaṭa, Kūtaka, and southern Karnātaka where in the forest adjoining to the Kūtaka mountain he threw some pebbles into his mouth and then began to move about naked and with dishevelled hair like a maniac Thereupon a dreadful forest-fire, caused by the bamboos striking one against the other on account of the terrible wind, burnt his body along with the entire forest Being informed of the conduct (of Ṛsabha) the king of Koṅka, Veṅkaṭa, and Kūtaka, named Arhat shall himself learn it, and shall, forsaking his own religion, fearlessly institute the false religion with the Pāṣaṇḍhas by his own understanding.²

The Kūtaka mentioned above could only have been the Kūṭakagrāma of Tuḷuva.³ From the above story it appears as if the Jaina advent into Tuluva is to be dated to the early days of Ṛsabha, the first Tīrthankara; and that the activities of the Jainas are to be located

1. *Viṣṇu Purāna*, II. pp. 103-104. (Wilson).

2. *Bhāgavata Purāna*, V. 6, 8, 10 and 11; *ibid*, V. p. 21 (Calcutta 1895).

3. This subject will be dealt with in a separate paper. B. A. S.

somewhere in the region between Kūtakagrāma and Hattiangadi. The latter place in the Kundāpūru tāluka is no doubt still considered to be a holy centre of the Jains, although it contains no more than a couple of Jaina houses and a Jaina *basti*. If we are to rely on the story of Ṛsabha's wanderings, Jainism appears to have been introduced first in the region of Kundāpūru and then elsewhere in Tuluva.¹

But the traditions current in Mūdubidre and Kārkala, the two strongholds of Jainism in Tuluva, run counter to the above view. The Jaina tradition in Mūdubidre as well as in Kārkala dates the introduction of Jainism into Tuluva to about the ninth century A.D. The following may be noted in this connection.—In the first place, the Jains of Tuluva have no memories of Paraśurāma. Unlike the Brahmans, they deny the

1. These assumptions receive some support from the following stone inscription assigned to *circa* A.D. 950, which informs us that Jīnadatta Polalol Kumbhāsīkeyol mādidaṃ Jīna-gēhangaḷam. The same record ends with the statement that Jīnadatta granted Kumbhāsepara for the anointment of Jīna, etc. *E. C. VII Sh. 114, p. 37*. One is inclined to identify Polalu mentioned in this record with Polalu or Polali in the Mangalore tāluka, and Kumbhasepara or Kumbhasike with Kumbhakāśi or Kumbhasike in the Udipi tāluka. This may be strengthened by the fact that at Malali, north of Polali in the Mangalore tāluka, and likewise at Haṭṭiangadi, about five or six miles north of Kumbhakāśi, there are Jaina *bastis*. These arguments seem to confirm the details given above regarding Ṛsabha's wanderings. But this view is inadmissible. For the Kumbhasike of the above record is to be identified with Kumsi, the place itself where the inscription was found, and the Polali of the same record was no other than its namesake mentioned in *circa* A.D. 890 in the same region. *E. C. VII Sk. 45, p. 49*.

creation of the Sapta Konkanas by Jāmadagnya. As Buchanan remarked, they merely trace the history of Jainism to Jīnadatta Rāya who was born, according to them, at Uttara Mathurā near the Jumnā.¹ This shows that the Jainas came to the district in comparatively later times.

Secondly, the Jainas of Tuluva themselves admit that the Brahmans of Tuluva were a more ancient people. Buchanan was informed by the Jainas that the Tuluva Brahmans, who followed the Vedas, were first introduced by Mayūravarmā, a Jaina prince who lived at Bārakūru about a thousand years ago. But of this ruler the Jainas of Tuluva have no written record.² Hence the Jainas seem to have come to Tuluva in an age when even the traces of Mayūravarmā had grown dim.

Thirdly, the oldest *basti* in Mūdubidre is the Gurugala *basti*. The Jainas of Mūdubidre reckon this *basti* to be only 1000 years old. In other words, the Jainas of Mūdubidre would date the advent of their earliest leaders to the ninth century or thereabouts. Moreover, in that same town the Gaurī temple is admitted by the Jainas to be older than the Gurugala *basti*, thus proving beyond doubt that before the advent of the Jainas, Hinduism had already taken roots in that town.

Fourthly, in the same town is a quarter called *halavaravarga*. The Jainas of Mūdubidre assert that

1 Buchanan, *A Journey*, III, p. 81.

2. *Ibid*, p. 82.

this was the earliest colony of their people in that town. Evidently the Jainas settled in that quarter mainly as traders, and ultimately succeeded in converting the ruler of Mūḍubidre from Hinduism into Jainism. This could only have been in later times when the Ālupas had already made Mūḍubidre one of their provincial capitals. We shall presently see that epigraphical evidence supports this assumption of ours.

Fifthly, Mūḍubidre was originally a centre of the Brahmans. Both the traditions of the Jainas and epigraphs prove this. The Cautars of Mūḍubidre, who are now Jainas, and who removed later on their centre to Puttige, were originally Hindus, their tutelary deity (*kula devatā*) being the god Somanātha of Ullāla on the coast. Buchanan relates in his days there were in Mūḍubidre six *guḍis* or temples belonging to Brahmans, who followed the *Purānas*, and 700 houses mostly occupied by the Brahmans of the two sects.¹

Sixthly, till A.D. 1800 when Buchanan visited the Jainas of Mūḍubidre, they were ignorant of the immigration of their co-religionists from northern India to Śravana Belgōḷa. Instead of tracing their origin to the activities of their own people from northern India or Śravana Belgōḷa, the Jainas associated their advent with Arabia¹. Buchanan relates that the Jainas "allege that formerly they extended over the whole of Arya or

1. Buchanan, *A Journey*, III. p. 75. It was evidently the Hindu propensity of the Cautars that was responsible for a settlement of a dispute between themselves and the Rājas of Kārkaḷa, also recorded by Buchanan. *Ibid*

Bharatakanda , and that all those whoever had any pretensions to be of Ksatri descent, were of their sect. It, no doubt, appears clear, that until the time of Rama Anuja Acharya, many powerful princes in the south of India were their followers. They say, that formerly they were very numerous in Arabia : but that about 2,500 years ago a terrible persecution took place at Mecca, by order of a king called Parasu Bhattaraka, who forced great numbers to come to this country...they suppose Parasu Bhattaraka to have been the founder of the Mussulman faith. None of them have the smallest trace of the Arabian features, but are in every respect complete Hindus ”¹ It is because the Jainas came to Tuluva in comparatively recent times that they confounded the Paraśurāma of Hīndu tradition with an imaginary Paraśu Bhattāraka, whose antecedents are unknown to us. If the Jainas, as is maintained by some, had indeed come to Tuluva in the days of Bhadrabāhu, the memory of their advent into the district would never have been forgotten.

Moreover, the history of the pontificate of Kārkala reveals the late origin of the Jaina religion in Tuḷuva. The Jainas of Kārkala trace the beginnings of Jainism to the Humccha ruler Jīnadatta Buchanan was informed by the priests of Kārkala that Jīnadatta’s “ first son was the first Byrasu Wodeya, and all his descendants assumed that title.”² Although this is historically

1. Buchanan, *A Journey* p. 80.

2. *Ibid*, p. 81.

inaccurate, yet the fact of the memory of Jaina advent into Tuluva, at least so far as Kārkala is concerned, being limited to the times of Jīnadatta, shows that we have to look for the beginnings of Jainism in Tuḷuva only after the ninth century A.D.

Indeed, this assumption of ours is further proved by the following tradition that is till current in Mūdubidre :—Once a Jaina sage visited a Ballāla ruler whose finger had been cut off as a punishment by his sovereign. The sage was respectfully served and waited upon by the Ballāla Rāya. But seeing the maimed finger of the Ballāla Rāya, the Jaina sage went away. At this the Ballāla Rāya got angry and destroyed 108 *bastis* of the Jainas and in their place built a tank. A whirlpool arose because of this impious deed, in the territory of the Ballāla Rāya, and hundreds died. Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Ācārya of Belgola heard of this disaster that had happened to the Ballāla king, and cured him of his illness, and saved his kingdom. Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Ācārya then travelled on to Nallūru near Kārkala. On coming to Nallūru the Jaina teacher's elephant and his seat made up of sandal-wood (*candana mane*) refused to move. Cārukīrti Paṇḍita realised that that was the right place for building a *basti* which he accordingly did. A monastery (*matha*) was built by him there. Both the iron chain used for binding the back and the neck of the elephant and the sandal-wood seat can still be seen at Nallūru.¹

¹ This was related to me by an old man named Dērama Śeṭṭi at Mūdubidre on 24. 12. 1925. B. A. S.

In spite of its errors, the above tradition is not altogether worthless. The Śravana Belgola Jaina pontiffs were called Abhinava Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Ācāryas, and not merely Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Ācāryas.¹ The other detail of a Ballāla Rāya having had his finger cut off by his sovereign may also be dispensed with. But all the same the main part of the story, viz., that a Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Deva cured a Ballāla king of his illness, may be made to square with the known facts of history. It is true that the name Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Ācārya was assumed by many Jaina teachers. Thus the earliest Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Deva is represented as the disciple of Municandra Traṭṭidya Bhattāraka, in a record dated in the twentieth year of the Cālukya-Vikrama era (A.D. 1076 + 20 = 1096).² There is another Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Deva who was the disciple of Abhaya Candra Siddhānta in circa A.D. 1200.³ It cannot be made out whether he is the same as the one mentioned in A.D. 1274, and again in A.D. 1279.⁴ A later record dated A.D. 1398 informs us that Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Deva cured Ballāla of a terrible disease.⁵ This refers obviously to Ballāla Deva I, since with the conversion of his younger brother Bittiṅga Deva into Vaisnavism, Jainism as the state religion of the Hoysalas fell on evil days.⁶

1. *Śravana Belgola Insc.* Intr. p. 60 (1st ed.).

2. 74 of *Bombay-Karnataka Inscs* copied in the *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1927-8.

3. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 227, p. 133.

4. *E. C.* II. No. 93, p. 159, (1st ed.), V. 133, p. 88.

5. *E. C.* II. No. 254, p. 105.

6. Rice, *Mys. & Coorr.*, p. 99. This precludes our identifying

The similarity between the tradition of Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Deva in Mūḍubidre and the story recorded in the above epigraph seems to suggest that it was in the twelfth century A.D. that Jainism made some headway in Tuḷuva.¹ But we have already described how the Śāntaras had made sporadic attacks on the Tuluva capital Udayāvara in the middle of the ninth century A.D. In the wake of these Śāntaras, who were essentially Jaina during the early period of their political career, Jainism must have come to Tuluva. The earliest Jaina settlement seems to have been Varanga and its neighbourhood. It is only in Śaka 1083 (A.D. 1161-2), however, that we meet with a grant to a Jaina temple by a prince called a Kumāra Rāya. This illegible record in Old Kannaḍa was found in Kervāṣe, twenty six miles south-east of Uḍipi.²

Who this Kūmāra Rāya was cannot be made out. But of the patronage extended to Jainism by this prince there can be no doubt. The fact that the inscription was found in Kervāṣe suggests that that place had become a centre of Jainism in the middle of the twelfth century.

the Ballāla Rāya of the Mūḍubidre tradition with the Ballāla Rāya who is associated with Cārukīrti Paṇḍita, the spiritual teacher of the Śāntāra ruler of Tuluva-Lokanātharasa. See *supra* Ch. III, Section VIII. B. A. S.

1. This agrees with the opinion expressed in *As. Res.* XVII. p. 282; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II. p. 104, n. that it was in the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. that Jainism was introduced into Tuluva. But it is incorrect to say that because it was powerful in Gujarat, it spread to Tuḷuva. B. A. S.

2. Sewell, *List.* I. p. 232.

A.D. It was only in the first quarter of the thirteenth century A.D. that we meet with the inscriptions of the Ālupa kings who had extended their patronage to Jainism. Thus the defaced stone epigraph found in the Gaurī temple at Prāntya in Mūḍubidre, dated A.D. 1215, of the reign of Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I, as already narrated above, contains the incomplete sentence;—*Bidireya Pārśvadevaru bareyisi*. The details of the grant to the goddess Gaurī as well as to Pārśvanātha are effaced.¹ Nevertheless this record proves that under Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I Jainism had already received royal patronage in Mūḍubidre. We prove this from the stone inscription found in the Nemiśvarā *basti* at Varanga, of the times of the same Ālupa ruler, which gives the names of the Jaina *gurus* Maladhārideva, Mādhavacandra and Prabhācandra.²

Before we pass on to the next Ālupa king who likewise proved to be a patron of Jainism, we may refer to the stone inscription found at Nallūru. It is dated Śaka 1218 (A.D. 1296), and it merely records a grant (of land) by a private person to the Jaina *basti* at Nallūru.³ The support which the dynasty founded by Lokanātharasa in the Kārkala tāluka, gave to the cause of Jainism may be recalled here.

In the stone inscription found in the Ammanavarū *basti* at Mūḍubidre of the reign of the Ālupa king

1. 51 of 1901, op. cit.

2. 526 of 1928-29, op. cit.

3. Sewell, *List. I.* p. 232.

Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva III, dated A.D. 1384, we have further proof of the leaning of the Ālupa ruler towards Jainism. As we have already narrated, the king is described to be seated on the diamond throne (*ratna simhāsana*), obviously in the Pārśvanātha *basti* itself, of Mūḍubidre (*Kulaśekhara-Ālupendra devaru Bīdireya* [*Pārśvanātha ba*] *sadiyolu ratna-simhāsana-ārūḍhar...*) The defaced inscription clearly mentions, however, a gift to the Pārśvanāthadeva (*Bīdireya Pārśvanātha dēvarige nive(dya)kke*)¹

It was only when Jainism had thus secured a firm footing in Nallūru, Kervāse, Varanga, and Muḍubidre that it travelled towards Bārakūru. A stone inscription discovered in the Somanāthēśvara temple at Manigārakēri in Bārakūru, registers the following.—*S'rimatu Kālōrgana-agraganyarum-appa śrī-Kīrti Bhattārakaru nīsi-(a)dhīyanu Manigāra-kēriya S'rāvakarū.. māḍida dharma śilāśāsanam*. Here is Śrīmat Kīrti Bhattāraka, who is described as the foremost of the Kālōrgana, mentioned along with the Śrāvakas, a particular class of Jainas, of the street called Manigārakēri in Bārakūru, making a monumental structure of remains, and the gift of a grant of merit.

The date of the above record is given thus.—*S'aka varṣa 1314 neya Prajāpati samvatsarada Caitra S'uddha 4 Maṅgaḷa vāra* which corresponds to A.D. 1391,¹ March the 10th Friday, the week day not corresponding.²

1. 53 A of 1001, op. cit

2. 168 D of 1901; S. I. I. VII No 370, p. 225, Swamikannu, Ind. Eph. V, p 384. On a *nsaddhi* or monument, read E. C. VII.

The Koraga record dated Śaka 1331 (A.D. 1408) registering the gift of land by the Śāntāra king Vīra Bhairava and his son Pāṇḍya Bhūpāla ruling from the capital Kervāṣe, at the instance of Vasantakīrti Rāvuḷa of the Balātkāragana, for offerings to the image of Parśvanātha and for feeding *rṣis* in the *basti* at Bārakūru built by the king,¹ has already been commented upon while delineating the relations between the Ālupas and the Śāntaras.

We may be permitted here to allude to a stone inscription in the Jaina *basti* at Bārakūru, registering grants of land to the services of Ādi Parameśvara in Bārakūru, by Cārukīrti Pāṇḍita Deva. It is dated Śaka 1421 (A.D. 1499-1500).²

5 VAISNAVISM

Both Jainism and Śaivism received a set-back in the thirteenth century A.D. due to the achievements of

HI 79, p. 174 Mr. A. N. Upadhye traces the origin of the word to the root *sad* (to sit), with *m*, conveying the idea of a seat. It indicates a monumental structure on the spot within the cremation ground where an Arhat was cremated. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XIV P. III, pp. 264-266. A Śrīkīrti Bhaṭṭāraka is mentioned among the Jaina teachers who are represented on the bottom rows of the panel in the Dharmādhikārī *basti* at Kārkala. They are given in the following order — (1) Kumudacandra Bhaṭṭāraka, (2) Hemacandra Bhaṭṭāraka; (3) Śrī Cārukīrti Pandita Deva; (4) Śrutamunī; (5) Dharmabhūṣana Bhaṭṭāraka, (6) Pūjyapādasvāmī; (7) Vimala Sūri Bhaṭṭāraka; (8) Śrī Kīrti Bhaṭṭāraka, (9) Siddhānta Deva; (10) Cārukīrti Pandita Deva; (11) Mahākīrti Deva Rāvula; and (12) Narendrakīrti Deva. *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1921, p. 8

1. 530 of 1928. op. cit.

2. 168 C of 1901; S. I. I. VII. No. 369, p. 225.

the greatest son of Tuluva Ānandatīrtha, better known by his name Madhvācārya. We shall give only a few details of the life of this celebrated champion of Dvaitism; and ascertain with the aid of both traditional and epigraphical evidence the date of his birth.

The main source of information for the life and achievements of the great Madhvācārya is the *Madhva vijaya*.¹ He was born at Pājakaksetra, in the village of Belle, about six miles south-east of Uḍipi². His father who is known in history as Madhyagehabhatta (which is a Sanskritized form of the Tulu *Naḍvantillāya*, Kannada *Naḍmane-bhatta*, or the Brahman of the middle house)³ and whose first name is lost, hailed

1 For a detailed account of his life, read C. M. Padmanabha Acarya, *Śrīmat Madhva Vijaya Kathānrtam* (Cennapurī, i.e., Madras 1908), G Venkoba Rao, *I. A* XLIII p, 233 seq. Pāvañje Guru Rao, *Madhva Vijaya* (with Subodhini tīkā in Kannada) Uḍipi.

2. Here is still shown a bower where the great teacher was born. See also Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, I, p 205 n (4). It is surprising that such an erroneous statement like the following should be made by a modern writer. "Udipa-In South Canara in the Karwar district" Nundolal Dey, *Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 209 (2nd ed. Calcutta, 1927). No such place like Udipa exists; the name is either Uḍipi (Udupi) or Oḍipu (in Tulu) B. A. S.

3. The name Nadvantillāya may be traced to the fact that it was the mid day halting place of Madhvācārya who is reputed to have sometimes performed the daily *pūjas* in the following order at dawn in the Kṛṣṇa temple at Uḍipi, at mid-day in Nadvantādi, and in the evening at Subrahmanya. Cf. Srinivasācārya, *Uḍipi-Kṣetra-mahimā*, pp. 19-20 (Uḍipi, 1923, 2nd ed.) It is possible that Nadvantādi, about fifty-miles South—South-East of Uḍipi, may have been the place of origin of Madhvācārya's ancestors Vādirāja, one of the greatest of the Uḍipi Śvāmīs, describes the holy place of Nadvantādi in his *Tīrthaprasaṅgha*. Nadvantillāya appears as one of the names of the *agnihotra-janas* described in detail in Appendix. B. A. S.

from the ancient village of Śivaḷli. The family to which Madhyagehabhatta belonged is called Mūḍillā. Madhyagehabhatta's wife was called Vedavati. To them after a twelve years' penance at the Anantesvara temple in Uḍipī was born a son who was considered to be an *avatāra* of Vāyu. This child was christened Vāsudeva. The wonderful lad performed great deeds. Once a creditor to whom his father owed some money, sat stubbornly on the doorsteps of Madhyagehabhaṭṭa's house, and refused to depart till his dues were paid. Vāsudeva went inside and returned with some tamarind seeds which, on being given to the Vaiśya creditor, were turned into pieces of gold.

Vāsudeva received his initiation (*upanayanam*) when he was only eleven, and his education at Rajatapiṭha (Uḍipī). Here in the Anantesvara temple stayed his *guru*, the learned Acyutaprekṣa Ācārya, also called Puruṣottamatīrtha. Vāsudeva had determined to renounce the pleasures of the world, and, therefore, turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of his parents who wanted him to be a householder.¹ All the concession which Vāsudeva would show to his parents was to remain at home till the birth of another son to them.

1. In the *Aṅumadhvacaritam* the following is stated *Jāto-madhyāhna velāyām Buddhatāre Marut-tanuh ! dhūsurendrah upanītaḥ yah tata ekādaśa-abdake || saumye jagāha Bhagavān tūriya āśramam uttamam ! tataḥ samāse-dasake divasānām gateparān ||* Guru Rao, *Aṅumadhvacaritam*, vv. 5-6, p. 7. (Uḍipī, 1924). This would mean that young Vāsudeva became a *saṁnyāsīn* only ten days after his *upanayanam*. B. A. S.

This second son became later on the well known Viṣṇu-tīrtha of Subrahmanya.

Returning to Acyutaprekṣa, Vāsudeva assumed the name of Pūrṇaprajña (on Vilambi Saṁvatsara Āśāḍha Kṛṣṇa caturthī), when he was only sixteen years of age. Although very eager to go to Kāśī, yet as his *guru* was not inclined to part with him, Pūrṇaprajña gave up the idea of going to northern India. The fame of this young *saṁnyāsin* spread far and wide; and many disputants came to Rajatapīṭha to challenge him. Among them was a learned man called Vāsudeva, who was easily defeated. This was Pūrṇaprajña's first victory.

Acyutaprekṣa was a follower of the Advaita philosophy. Once he began to read a work called *Isthasiddhi* to Pūrṇaprajña. Before his *guru* had finished reading the first *śloka*, Pūrṇaprajña had found out thirty-two mistakes in it! Acyutaprekṣa soon realized that his disciple was great. Pūrṇaprajña then explained all the errors in the work, and received from his *guru* the title of Ānandatīrtha.

Among those defeated in the religious discussions were two persons called Vādīśimha and Buddhisāgara. The latter was a Buddhist. Ānandatīrtha's greatest desire now was to demolish Śaṅkarācārya's Advaita philosophy. To achieve this end he studied Śaṅkarācārya's *S'āririkabhāṣya* and Bādarayana's *Brahmamīmāṃsāsūtra*. On the former he gave discourses to which Madhyagehabhatta also attended. Ānandatīrtha was

requested to write a new commentary on the old *Sūtras* which he agreed to do.

Now he undertook a south Indian tour along with his *guru* Acyutaprekṣa. He first visited a place called Viṣnumangala, about three miles from Kāsaragōḍu in the South Kanara district (About one mile from Viṣnumangala lay Kumāramangala where the well known Kāvu *matha* of Trivikramācārya exists.)¹ Viṣnumangala lay within the jurisdiction of the Prince Jayasimhabhūpa of Kumbla. Here in the Viṣnumangala temple Ānandatīrtha lived for some time. It is said that on one occasion he ate two-hundred *kadali* plantains presented to him as dessert¹

Travelling onwards Ānandatīrtha crossed the river Payasvānī or Candragiri which marks the boundary between Tuluva and Kerala. On the banks of this river he celebrated the Durgā *pūjā*. Thence he managed to reach Anantaśayana (Travancore) where he defeated Vidyāśankara, a learned Śaivite teacher of Kudrapustū-

1 Trivikramapandita belonged to the Taulava-*vamśa*, and his family name was Piṣetāya Srinivasacarya, *Uḍḍṛi-kṣetra-mahimā*, p. 23. As regards the ruler of Kumāramangala, we may note the following in a stone inscription found in a field in Kūlpādi, Mangalore tāluka. The epigraph is in characters which have been assigned to the twelfth century A.D. It records a gift of land, and mentions Devarasa of Kumāramangala and is dated only in the cyclic year Siddhārtin, (Vr) sabha, 15 (Saturday). The date corresponds to Śaka 1181, and works out correctly to (A.D. 1259) May the 10th Saturday. (343 of 1930-1931, Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph* IV, p. 120). Devarasa, the chief of Kumāramangala, therefore, was a contemporary of Madhvācārya. B. A. S.

rāya (or the Little New Town)¹. From Anantaśayana Ānandatīrtha went to Kanyākumārī and Rāmeśvaram where Vidyāśankara was again defeated. Ānandatīrtha's fame now reached all quarters. Somewhere while travelling from Rāmeśvaram to Śrīrangam, he gave to his disciples the famous discourse on the first word *viśva* of the *Viṣṇuśahasranāma*. Then he returned from Śrīrangam to Tuluva passing through a place called Muṣṭakṣetra, which we are unable to identify, but where he met the disputants of Keraḷa whom he vanquished. Then reaching the Payasvānī river he travelled onwards till he came to the famous Dandatīrtha, a holy place of his own making. All along the southern tour, Ānandatīrtha was accompanied by his *guru* Acyutaprekṣa Ācārya.²

Ānandatīrtha now desired to go to the north. He had to get the permission of his *guru*. But knowing that this would cause grief to Acyutaprekṣa, Ānandatīrtha wrote the first of his great works called *Gītā-bhāṣya* which he dedicated to his *guru*. He ultimately secured permission from his *guru* to go to Badarikāśrama. He went straight to the north, and reached a place called Nārāyanatīrtha

1. The word means *kudya* (little) + *pusat* [*hosat*] (new) + *ūr* (town) + *āye* (he) in Tulu. Was there a town of such a name in Tuluva? Madhvācārya's meeting with Vidyāśankara (based on *Madhva-vijaya*, V. 38) has now been declared to be fiction. Read *Journal of the Annamalai University*, III. No. 1, pp. 99-105.

2. The *Anumadhvaacaritam* gives the following explanation of the name Madhva—*Madhva-nāmā jigāya ayam vādinah vāda kauśalī* Guru Rao, *Anumadhvaacaritam*, v. 7, p. 7. These victories, therefore, won for Ānandatīrtha the name Madhva. A. S.

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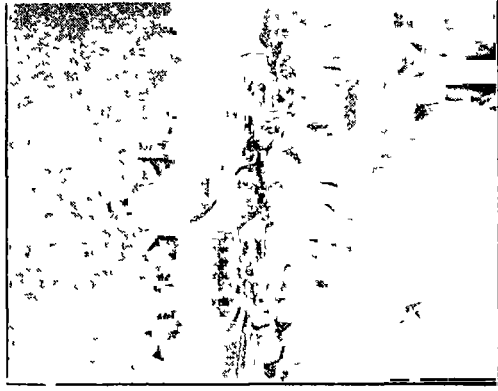


Daṇḍa-tīrtha where Madhvācārya spent his boyhood

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Elephant Procession at Udipi

Photo by V. G. S.]

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from where he was led, as the story goes, by Bādarāyaṇa to Badarikāśrama. In vain did Ānandatīrtha's disciple Satyatīrtha try to follow his *guru*. It was at the instance of the Ṛṣi Bādarāyaṇa that Ānandatīrtha wrote the commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*.

He returned to the south along the banks of the Godāvarī, where he overcame many disputants. Among these were two who became his disciples—Śobhanabhaṭṭa and Śama(Śāma) Śāstri. These afterwards came to be known as Padmanābhatīrtha and Naraharītīrtha respectively. Naraharītīrtha was directed by Ānandatīrtha to go to the capital of the Gajapati king and to become the prime-minister of that ruler. And he was by some means or other to get possession of the two original images of Rāma and Sītā. Naraharītīrtha accordingly succeeded in becoming the prime-minister of the Gajapati ruler who was then a boy, and managed to secure the two images.

Ānandatīrtha then returned to Rajatapīṭha. To his *guru* Acyutaprekṣa, he gave a copy of the commentary on the *Gītā*. It was his custom to do penance on the seashore. Once he saw a ship in distress. With the aid of his spiritual powers, Ānandatīrtha made the ship reach safely the shore. (This was near Oḍabhāṇḍeśvara at Malpe). The captain of the ship as a token of his gratefulness,¹ gave Ānandatīrtha a block of clay called *gopicandana*. On breaking open the clay block,

1. The name of the captain is given in some accounts as Mainda (or Maina). Śrinivasacārya, *Uḍipi-kṣetra-mahimā*, p. 14.

they discovered two lovely images of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. The former Ānandatīrtha installed at Rajatapīṭha where he appointed eight of his disciples to look after it in regular succession, while the latter image of Balarāma can still be seen at Oḍabhāṇdeśvara. (Thus arose the singular institution of the *aṣṭha maṭhas* of Uḍipi, the *Svamis* of which carry on the administration of the Kṛṣṇa and the other *maṭhas* with singular skill and piety).

After living for some time at Uḍipi Ānandatīrtha thought of going a second time to Badarikāśrama. His disciples Satyatīrtha and Upendratīrtha accompanied him in his second northern tour. At this time the ruler of Devagiri was Mahādeva, also called Īśvara Deva in some accounts, of the Yādava family. Īśvara Deva was a tyrant. How he tormented the *saṁnyāsins* of Uḍipi will be narrated later on in this treatise. But Īśvara Deva was compelled to desist from giving much trouble to Ānandatīrtha. Reaching the Bhāgīrathī (the Ganges), Ānandatīrtha surprised the Muhammadan ruler of that region by crossing the river without a boat and talking to the Sultan in his own language. Ānandatīrtha won the admiration of the Sultan and proceeded northwards.

On the way robbers waylaid him and his disciples. But he was more than a match for the robbers. In another place he transformed the meek Upendratīrtha into a man of superstrength and pitched him against marauders who begged pardon of Ānandatīrtha. In yet

another place he destroyed a tiger which sprang suddenly on Satyatīrtha, who was carrying the *pūjā* box on his shoulders. In due course Ānandatīrtha reached Badarikāśrama where Bādarāyana gave him eight *śālagrāmas* which later on the Ācārya installed at Uḍipi, Subrahmanya, Madhyatāle, and in other *mathas*.¹ Ānandatīrtha was told by Bādarāyana to write a commentary on the *Mahābhārata*. He returned to Hastināvati and Kuruksetra where at the former place he spent the *cāturmāsa*. He then travelled to Kāśi where he defeated a teacher called Indrapuri (?), a champion of Advaitism. This victory secured for Anandatīrtha the title of *yati-śikhāmani*. It was while in this region that the Ācārya showed the great physical strength he possessed by defeating in a wrestling match fifty persons.

While returning to Uḍipi he passed through Goa and an unidentified place called Isupattakṣetra. At

1 It is stated in the *Mys Arch. Rep* for 1917, p. 62 that five of these *śālagrāmas*, called also the Vyāsa stones, are said to be in the Uttarādī *matha* of the Mysore State, three in other Madhva *mathas*, "though there is some difference of opinion as to which *mathas* are in possession of these precious relics. From the references given above, it becomes apparent that the Rāghavendrasvāmī *matha* (of Nañjanagūḍu) has all along been in possession of these relics." The verse from the *Madhva-vijaya* relating to the *śālagrāmas* secured by the Ācārya, is also given on this page. But the assertion that the Uttarādī *matha* and the Rāghavendrasvāmī *matha* have got the majority of the precious stones runs against the tradition current at Uḍipi that these *śālagrāmas*, as narrated above, were deposited in the *mathas* in Tuluva itself. I had the privilege of seeing one of these beautiful *śālagrāmas* in the *matha* at Subrahmanya on May the 4th 1936 at the hands of His Holiness Viśvajñatīrtha Svāmī. It was exquisitely shining, dark black in colour, almost as large as an egg, and with a slender mark upon it which the people likened to the sacred thread B. A. S.

Goa he surprised the people of the *grāma* of Pusava by his extraordinary musical skill. The Ācārya then reached Tuḷuva where at Kauḍipāḍi (Koḍipāḍi) he defeated another Advaita teacher named Padmatīrtha, the disciple of Vidyāśankara whom Ānandatīrtha had already vanquished. Padmatīrtha's attempts to steal the work called *Madhva-siddhānta* were frustrated by the Ācārya. From Kauḍipāḍi the Ācārya journeyed to Kabenāḍu in Tuḷuva where he stayed for a few days in the Madanādipati temple. Thence he went to the Viṣṇu-mangala temple in the territory of the Kumbla Rāja Jayasimhabhūpa, who now became his disciple. This prince descended from his chariot and walked in the company of the Ācārya, who was now honoured by the representatives of the twenty-eight villages of Kumbla. The learned Trivikramapandita of the Āṅgīrasa *gotra* desired to enter into a discussion with the Ācārya. The debate was held for fifteen days in the Amarālaya Kūdilu *grāma*, at the end of which Trivikramapandita acknowledged himself defeated, and became a disciple of the Ācārya. According to the advice of his *guru*, Trivikramapandita wrote a commentary called *Tattvaprādīpikā*.

Meanwhile Ānandatīrtha's parents had died. And his brother renouncing the duties of a householder, became Ānandatīrtha's disciple. The Ācārya then returned to Rajatapīṭha.

The great teacher is said to have performed certain remarkable deeds which reveal his wonderful

physical strength. His extraordinary abilities had created some enemies. They had heard of the Ācārya teaching his disciples at the dead of night without a lamp but merely with the lustre issuing from the nail of his toe. A certain man called Kodañjāḍi Gantavālā and his brother, both renowned for their great physical strength, challenged the Ācārya to lift the flag-staff of the temple of the god Kāntadeva (of Kāntāvara?). But the two brothers were unable to stir even the little finger of the Ācārya! At a place called Ambātīrtha the great Ācārya performed a marvellous deed which we shall describe in detail presently. At the confluence of the two rivers Kumāradārī and Netrāvati (probably at Uppinangaḍi), a great famine raged. This region belonged to the chieftain called Saridanta. The Ācārya came to know of the distress suffered by the people, and he went to their succour at once. At the houses of the poor, the Ācārya would make a handful of rice suffice for hundreds of people, while at those of the rich, for thousands. The chieftain greatly honoured the Ācārya, and became one of his followers. While in this region at a place called Dhanvantariksetra, the Ācārya wrote one of his works called *Kṛsnāmṛtamahārṇava*.

The great Madhvācārya now foresaw that his end was drawing near. And it is believed at Uḍipi that he spent four months at Kanvatīrtha in Tuḷuva.¹ Just

1. Thus in the *Anumadvacaritam*:—*kṛtvā-ca-caturāḥ māsān-usitvā-Kanvatīrthake* Guru Rao, *Anumadvacaritam*, p. 8. Kanvatīrtha lies about forty-four miles south of Uḍipi.

before the Ācārya's death, Naraharitīrtha got him the two precious images of Rāma and Sītā from Gañjām. For three months and sixteen days the Ācārya kept the images in his own custody and worshipped them. The Ācārya then transmitted the charge of the images to the care of his disciple Padmanābhatīrtha. And having lived for seventy-nine years (*ekonāśiti-varsāṇi nītvā mānusa drstigaḥ*), in the Piṅgala Samvatsara Māgha Śuddha Navami, the great Madhvācārya went to Badarī.¹

Such is briefly the life of the most celebrated son of Tuḷuva. Incredible as some of his actions may seem, there is reason to believe that this description was not the result of fanciful exaggeration on the part of the writer of the *Madhva-vijaya*, by name Nārāyana, son of Trivikrama.² We have just referred to the prodigious deeds of strength done by the great Ācārya at a place called Ambātīrtha. The following is related about the incident in the *Madhva-vijaya* —

tīrthārtham prthutara-vapra pāti-vārām |
dhārāṇām raya-sahana-kṣamām Maheksah ||
ānītām daśa-śata-pumbhīr atyaśaktyā |
prekṣyoce vipula-śilām kvacit sa muktām ||
lōkānām upakṛtaye kutaś-śileyaṃ |

1. *Madhva-vijaya* A palm leaf version of this work is in my possession. I secured it through the kind aid of my friend Vidyān Paṇḍit Venkatadāsācārya of Uḍipi. Cf. Guru Rao, *Anumadhvacaritam*, v. 10, p. 8. Some of the details given above may be compared with the abstract of the same given by Venkoba Rao, *I. A. XLIII*. pp. 236-237, 264 n. (25), Padmanābhācārya, op. cit.

2. Cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 81. (Poona, 1928).

ninye no iti janatā jagāda tatra ॥
netāro yatī-vara mānavā nahīmām ।
Bhīmās-ced iha yatate nayan na veti ॥
ninye tām girim iva vānarī-kṛtāmā ।
līlāvat-kara-kamalena so'malena ॥
tatrāpi nyadhita tayāsyā sūcayate 'lam ।
tat Tungām nanu nikasādhunāpi karma ॥¹

Maheksa (Madhvācārya) saw a big rock, capable of supporting the fall of water from a height, which had been brought by a thousand men for some *tīrtha* and abandoned through utter inability “Why was the rock not conveyed (to its destination) for the good of the people?”, he enquired. The crowd at the place replied that there were not men able to carry it there, and that even if Bhīma were to try, it was doubtful whether he could do it. Whereupon Maheksa bore up the rock easily with one hand, as in the form of Hanumān he had borne up the mountain (Gandhamādana), and placed it at the destined spot. And this rock in the Tuṅgā even now bears witness to his deed.

In silent testimony to the marvellous achievement of Madhvācārya is engraved on that big boulder called Bhīmanakallu, at the Ambātīrtha in Māvinakere, Mūdgere tāluka, the following epigraph:—

S'rī-Madhvācāryavaiḥ eka-hastena-ānīya sthāpita-śilā
 (The rock brought [here] and set up with one hand by Madhvācārya).²

1. Cf. Rice, *E C. VI. Intr.* p. 27

2. *Ibid*, Mg 89, pp. 75, 293.

Rice has assigned this inscription to about A.D. 1240. But on the strength of the evidence cited below, we may assign this event to *circa* A.D. 1280.

This brings us to the question of the date of the birth of the great Madhvācārya. The most important considerations in the determination of his date are the tradition that is still preserved at the eight *mathas* of his disciples in Uḍipi, the internal evidence supplied both by the *Madhva-vijaya* and the *Anumadvacaritam*, and the contemporaneity of a ruler and of one of his own disciples mentioned in the *Madhva-vijaya*.

We may dispense with the date Śaka 1117-18 as the date of the birth of Madhvācārya.¹ Likewise the date A.D. 1199 given by Sturrock, obviously on the basis of a statement made in one of the Ācārya's own works called the *Bhāratatātparyanirnaya*, and the assertion that Kallyānapura was the birthplace of the great Vaiṣṇava teacher.²

An equally futile attempt was made by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, who not only repeated the error of the

1. This is Mr Venkoba Rao's view. *I. A.* XLIII p. 265

2. Sturrock. *S. C. Manual*, I. p 147. The compiler of this *Manual* ascribes Christian origin to the teachings of Madhvācārya. "The moral code of Madhvācārya is high one, and his teaching is held by some-not ordinary Hindus of course-to have been affected by the existence of the community of Christians at Kallianpur mentioned by Cosmos Indico Pleustes in the seventh century." *Ibid*, p. 147. It is wrong to confound the Kallian mentioned by Cosmos Indico Pleustes with Kallyānapur of Tuluva, and unhistorical to say that there were Christians in any part of Tuluva in the thirteenth century A.D. I do not know whether this and equally erroneous statements with which the *S. C. Manual* abounds have been rectified in the forthcoming revised edition of the *Madh District Gazetteers*. R. A. S

compiler of the *S. C. Manual* that Kallyānapura was the birthplace of the great Ācārya, but accepted the wrong view that it was the same as Rajatapīṭha¹ While rejecting the Śaka year 1040 as the date of Madhavācārya's birth, Bhandarkar accepted the date inserted in the *Bhāratatātparynirṇaya* "to be the correct date of his birth". We shall presently refer to this source of information. Bhandarkar's arguments seem to be wholly conjectural and forced. "It (Kali 4300) corresponds to Śaka 1121, which, bearing in mind the fact that some use the current year of an era and some in the past, we must regard as equivalent to Śaka 1119, the date given in the lists for Ānandatīrtha's death. But instead of taking it as the date of his death, we shall have to regard it as the date of his birth. He lived for 79 years according to the current account, so that his death must be placed in Śaka 1198. The two dates may, therefore, be taken as settled."²

1-2. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 82, and *ibid.*, n. (1). The reference is given to the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV. p. 314, which merely follows the *S. C. Manual*. To support his conjectures, Bhandarkar tells us that "This agrees with the tradition existing in the Maṭha at Phalamāru, near Mulkī in South Canara, to the effect that Ānandatīrtha was born in Śaka 1119 and died in Śaka 1199. *E. I.* VI. p. 263, n." *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, p. 83, n. (4). It is not what the tradition in the Phalamāru maṭha in Mulkī that matters but what the eight mathas at Uḍipi have got say on the question. And even here care should be exercised as to the source we select. Thus even information supposed to emanate from one of the mathas itself may have to be rejected. Mr B. Rama Rao asserts that Śaka 1121 Kālāyuktāksi samavatsara Māgha Śu. 7th was the date of the birth of Madhvācārya. He bases his assertion on the strength of a *Kaṣṭhīyut* called the *Adhamāru matha Kaṣṭhīyut* which gives us this

These "settled" dates of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar have to be rejected on historical grounds; and we have to examine the validity of the arguments put forward by other scholars who have arrived at the correct date of the birth of Madhvācārya. Of these only two deserve mention—Mr. C. M. Padmanābha Ācārya and the late Mr. Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī. Mr. Padmanābha Ācārya arrived at Śaka 1160 as the date of the birth of the great Ācārya. He utilized the fact of the contemporaneity of Madhvācārya with Naraharītīrtha, of Madhvācārya's disciple Adhokṣajātīrtha with Vidyāraṇya Svāmī of Śringerī, and of the Devagiri ruler Īśvara Deva, whom he identified with Mahādeva, with Madhvācārya himself¹

The late Mr. Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī argued in this manner—To get at the time of Ānandītīrtha, the total period of the *sthānādhipatyā* of the intervening teachers Padmanābhatīrtha, Naraharītīrtha, and Madhvatīrtha, viz., thirty-three years, will have to be deducted, say, from

information *Prācīna Kārṇāṭaka*, I. P. I pp. 53-57. But this *Kaṣṭiyut* was written by a man called Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa of the Adhamāru *matha* in the cyclic year Kṣaya, Jetha, Śuddha 5, for the *Kumpanī Sirkar*, i. e., the English East India Company. Mr. Rama Rao does not tell us from where he secured this *Kaṣṭiyut*. But I am sure that it was written for Col. Colin Mackenzie, and that it may be found in the *Mackenzie Collection*, as preserved at the India Office Library. Goldstücker too asserted that A. D. 1199 was the date Madhvācārya's birth. *Literary Remains*, I. p. 248. This error has been repeated by Mr. Nundolal Dey. *Geog. Dicty.* p. 209 (2nd ed.) See also N. S. Rajapurohit, *Prācīna Kārṇāṭaka*, II No 1, pp. 1, seq.

1. Padmanabha Acarya, *Śrīmat Madhva Vijaya Kathamṛitam*, Intr. p. 1 seq. (Madras, 1909).

A.D. 1362, and this brings us to A.D. 1329. Now, the nearest year A.D. which corresponds to Piṅgaḷa, the traditional date of the death of Ānandatīrtha, was A.D. 1317. Ānandatīrtha is supposed to have lived for seventy-nine years, and consequently the date of his birth, the cyclic year Vīlambī, would correspond to A.D. 1238. The statement in the *Madhva-vijaya* confirms this date ¹

Evidence from another work may be cited to substantiate the conclusion arrived at both by Mr. Padmanābha Ācārya and Mr. Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī. This is called *Anumadhvacaritam* written by one of the direct disciples of Madhvācārya by name Hṛṣīkeśatīrtha of the Phalamāru *matha* at Uḍipi. The following is written in the *Annumadhvacaritam* :—

triśatābhattaracatuḥ-sahasrābdebhya uttare ekona-catvā-

1 *E. I. VI. p. 263* Mr. Śāstrī rightly considered the verse in the *Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya*, written by Madhvācārya himself, to be an interpolation. For in this work Madhvācārya is said to have been born in Kali 4300 (A.D. 1198). The verse in question is the following —
catus-sahasre tri-śatottare gate samvatsarānām-tu Kalau prthivyām |
jātaḥ punarvipratamussa Bhīmah-dastyauḥ-nigūdam Haritattvam-āha ||
Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya, Adhyāya 32, v. 131. According to this verse, as Śāstrī said, there is a difference of eighty years between it and the date found in the lists. Even this date given in the *Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya* cannot be reconciled with the dates of the inscriptions of Ānandatīrtha's disciple Naraharīrtha. Hence it is an interpolation. *E. I. VI. p. 263.* Mr. Kṛṣṇamūrti Śārma rightly maintains that A.D. 1238 is the date of Madhvācārya's birth *Journal of the Annamalai University*, III. Oct. No. 2, 1934, pp. 245-255, *ibid*, V. No. 1, pp. 96-118. S. Hanumanta Rao also places Madhvācārya in the thirteenth century A.D. *Madras University Journal*, I. No. 1 and II No. 1. But these are inaccessible to me. See *I. H. O.*, IX, p. 969. B. A. S.

*riṁśābde Viḷambi-parivatsare Āśvija-S'ukla-Daśamī-divase
bhavi-pāvane Pājakākṣhe śuci-kṣetre durgayā-ca
abhivikṣite cā-tah-madhyāhna-vēlāyāṁ Buddhavāre Marut-
tānuh¹*

The date of Madhvācārya's death is given thus in the same work :—

ekonāśīti varṣāni-nītvā mānusu-dṛṣṭigaḥ

Piṅgalābde Māgha-S'uddha navamīyāṁ Badarīm yayau.

From the above the following is clear—that in Kali 4339 Viḷambi Samvatsara, Āśvija Śuddha Dāsami Wednesday afternoon, Madhvācārya was born at Pājakakṣetra. This agrees with A.D. 1238 September the 20th Monday, the week day however not corresponding.

If we add seventy-nine years to A.D. 1239, we reach A.D. 1317 the cyclic year of which was Piṅgaḷa. And the date of the death of Madhvācārya works out correctly to Kali 4418 Piṅgala Samvatsara Māgh Śuddha Navamī = A.D. 1317 January the 22nd Saturday.²

1 I am indebted to my friend Pandit Venkatadāsācārya for this reference to the *Anumadhvacaritam*, a palm leaf copy of which exists at the Phalamāru matha at Udipi. Cf. Guru Rao, *Anumadhvacaritam*, vv. 3-5, p. 7, Srinivasācārya, *Udipi-kṣetra-mahimā*, p. 13. For the verification of the dates, see Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph* IV. pp 79, 236. In some versions of the *Anumadhvacaritam* the following reading is said to have been given *ekona-vimśatitame*—which corresponds to Kali 4318 Viḷambi. This is inadmissible, because the cyclic year for Kali 4318 was Iśvara, and for Kali 4319, Bahudhānya. Swamikannu, *ibid*, IV. pp 36-37. Mr. Guru Rao too rightly says that the latter reading is inadmissible, *ibid*, p. 7. The tradition current at Udipi is that the great Ācārya lived for 79 years, 6 months, and 20 days B. A. S.

2 On my writing to Pandit Venkatadāsācārya about the incompatibility of the weekday of the Ācārya's birth, he informs me in

We have already mentioned some of the most prominent disciples of Madhvācārya. He vested the management of the eight *mathas* at Uḍipī in the charge of the following disciples.—

<i>Name</i>	<i>Matha</i>
Visnutīrtha (the Ācārya's own brother)	Sōde <i>matha</i>
Janārdhanatīrtha	Kṛṣṇāpura <i>matha</i>
Rāmatīrtha	Kānūru <i>matha</i>
Narasimhatīrtha	Adhamāru <i>maṭha</i>
Upendratīrtha	Puttige <i>maṭha</i>
Vāmanatīrtha	Śīrūru <i>matha</i>
Hṛsīkeśatīrtha	Phalamāru <i>maṭha</i>
Adhokṣajatīrtha	Pējāvara <i>maṭha</i> ¹

We may now try to fix chronologically the great Ācārya's tours in southern and northern India. The

his letter dated 21-10-1935 that he had the horoscope of the Ācārya's birth recast according to the *Anumadhvacaritam*, and that he finds the weekday corresponds to Monday. Some of the Pandits of the eight *mathas* inform him that Wednesday may have been put by a clerical error in the *Anumadhvacaritam*. B. A. S.

1 These and other details of the *mathas* of Uḍipī have been supplied to me by Pandit Venkatadāsācārya Sīr R. G. Bhandarkar gives a list of the *gurus* of Uḍipī. *Report on Search for Sanskrit Mss.* for 1882-83, p. 17 seq. (Poona, 1928). Since these lists are based on those supplied to him from Poona, Miraj and Belgaum, they are not so trustworthy as the lists preserved in Uḍipī itself. The above list of *gurus* agrees with that given by Mr. Pavanje Guru Rao in his *Sampradāya-paddhati*, p. 4, and by Srinivasacārya, *Uḍipī-kṣetra-mahimā*, p. 18. We may note here that of these the Phalamāru and the Adhamāru *mathas* form the first *dvanda*, the Kṛṣṇāpura and the Puttige *mathas* the second *dvanda*, the Śīrūru and the Sōde *mathas* the third *dvanda*, and the Kānūru and the Pējāvara *mathas* the fourth *dvanda*. B. A. S.

Madhva-vijaya mentions one southern and two northern tours. While determining the chronology of his tours, we have to bear in mind his contemporaneity with Naraharītīrtha and Īśvara Deva of Devagiri. We may be permitted to repeat one or two facts given above. Madhvācārya was born in A.D. 1238. His *upanayanam* or the sacred thread ceremony took place when he was eleven, i.e., in A.D. 1249. In his sixteenth year (A.D. 1254) he assumed the title of *Pūrnāprajña*. This is the first important landmark in his chronology. The next is that relating to his southern tour. But before he undertook his southern tour, he was engaged in religious disputations. We may assume that these disputations covered about two years. So he may have started on his southern tour in about A.D. 1256. This journey must necessarily have taken him at least three years. His return to Tuluva, therefore, may be placed in A.D. 1260. Since he was now busy writing a commentary on the *Gītā*, he may have started on his first northern tour only in A.D. 1266. We may give five years to this northern tour, and assume that, while returning to Tuluva through the Kalinga kingdom, he met Naraharītīrtha in A.D. 1270.

We may pause here to examine the validity of our assumptions, by finding out whether Naraharītīrtha's dates agree with the deduction made above. Naraharītīrtha's inscriptions range between A.D. 1264 and A.D. 1294.¹ There is nothing improbable in Madhvācārya's having met Naraharītīrtha in about A.D. 1270.

1. *E. I.*, VI. p. 262.

Madhvācārya returned to Rajatapīṭha in the next year; and we may legitimately place the discovery of the image of Kṛṣṇa in the ship off the coast of Malpe in the three years which intervened between his return to Tuluva and his second northern tour. That is to say, it may be assigned to about the year A D. 1273. This period, it may also be remembered, was spent in writing commentaries on the scriptures.

The *Madhva-vijaya* clearly says that after living for some time in Udipi, Madhvācārya started on his second tour to the north. Therefore, we may allot three years to his stay in Tuluva. The second tour to Badrikāśrama may be determined with the help of the date of his contemporary called in the *Madhva-vijaya* Īśvara Deva of Devagiri. No such name is met with in the Seuna or Yādava geneology. But he has been identified with Mahādeva of Devagiri¹

We may be allowed to mention a few details concerning this Īśvara or Mahādeva of Devagiri as given in the *Madhva-vijaya*, and see in what manner they agree with the details one may glean from the epigraphs. In the epigraphs he is called Mahādeva; and till now it was generally believed that his reign lasted

1. Kṛṣṇaswami Aiyar, *Madhvācārya, A Historic Sketch*, p. 14. This book is unfortunately inaccessible to me. But it has been referred to by Kṛṣṇa Śāstri, *E. I.* VI. p. 263. The reference is also given to Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dist.* p. 519 (2nd ed.). Padmanābha Ācārya also refers to the same Mahādeva of Devagiri. *Madhva-vijaya-kathāmr̥tam*, op. cit.

from A.D. 1260 till A.D. 1270.¹ But there is reason to believe that Mahādeva ruled till A.D. 1291, although by this time Rāmacandra Deva had successfully wrested a part of the Yādava territory either from Mahādeva himself or from his son Amma.² For an incomplete inscription clearly says the following:—*svasti śrī-jaya-abhyudaya S'aka varsa 1214 neya Khara samvatsaradali śrīmanu (śrīmatu) Mahādevaru prthivī-rājyam-geyyuttam iddalli*. The statement in this record that Mahādeva was ruling the kingdom of the world—*Mahādevaru prthivī-rājyam geyyuttam iddalli*—proves that he was still king over the Yādava territory. The record breaks off after a few words, but the date given in it corresponds to A.D. 1291.³

Some of the above records give interesting details concerning Mahādeva which confirm, on the whole,

1. Fleet, *ibid*, pp. 73-74 (1st ed.), 263 (2nd ed.) See also *E. C.* XI, Dg. 8, 79, 87, 97, 100, 102, 162, 163, 171, 122, dating from A.D. 1264 till A.D. 1268, pp. 26, 66, 68-70, 81, 83, VII. Sk. 41, C1. 4, 21, 22 ranging from A.D. 1265 till A.D. 1268, pp. 47, 178, 181, 182.

2. Fleet asserts that Devagiri still continued to be the Seuna capital under Rāmacandra. *Dyn. Kan. Dts.*, p. 74. (1st ed.). But Rice maintains that Rāma Deva transferred his seat to Bettur in the Mysore State, close to Dāvanagere in the east. *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 109. It is true that Rāmacandra's inscriptions appear in A.D. 1282, *E. C.* VII. C1. 23, 24, 26, ranging from A.D. 1280 till *circa* 1290, pp. 182-3. Since C1 dated A.D. 1282 was engraved in the 14th regnal year of Rāmacandra, we may infer that he began to reign in A.D. 1268. This year falls within the reign of Mahādeva, and therefore, Rice's assumption that Rāmacandra began to rule in the reign of Mahādeva himself seems to be correct. B. A. S.

3. *E. C.* IX. Cp. 171, p. 346 text; Sewell-Dikshit, *The Indian Calendar*, Table 1, Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* IV. p. 184.

the account given of this ruler in the *Madhva-vijaya*. In one record he is called *Ugra-śārvabhauma*, thus suggesting, as Fleet remarked, that he forcibly usurped the sovereignty.¹ This assumption of Fleet is confirmed by an epigraph dated A.D. 1268, which after tracing the Seuna genealogy from king Jaitugi through his son Bhillama, and then through Simhana, and the latter's son Śaraṅgapāṇi, directly mentions Mahādeva thus—the heroic Mahādeva seized the three worlds (*trailokyam akrāmati*).² The same is repeated in another record of the ruler which, after narrating that the emperor Simhana shone in the world, says that “From him the king Mahādeva Rāya overcame the three worlds.”³ Mahādeva Rāya's presumption is seen in the *birudas* given to him in about A.D. 1265—*arirāya* (king over enemies), *rāya-pitāmaha* (grandfather of kings).⁴

Two more *birudas* of Mahādeva Rāya may be noted before we pass on to the notices of the ruler in the *Madhva-vijaya*. In two inscriptions dated A.D. 1265 and A.D. 1266 Mahādeva is called *pratiṣṭhā Paraśurāma* (in vows a *Paraśurāma*), and *bhuja-bala-Bhīma* (in the strength of his arms a *Bhīma*).⁵ From these and similar *birudas* it is clear that Mahādeva Rāya considered himself to be the personification of strength and valour. It is not surprising, therefore, that he should find in *Madhvā-*

1. Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 74.

2. E. C. VII. C1. 21, pp. 181, 433.

3. *Ibid.*, C1. 22, p. 434.

4. *Ibid.*, XI. Dg. 8, op. cit.

5. *Ibid.*, D^o. 162, 172, op. cit. text, pp. 162, 218.

cārya, who, as the Bhīmanakulla epigraph proves, was also a Bhīma in strength, a rival of greater renown.

The *Madhva-vijaya* relates that the Ācārya on coming to the territory of Īśvara Deva, found the ruler engaged in a scheme of sinking wells evidently by the roadside. Īśvara Deva is said to have ordered the Ācārya to dig like any ordinary man; but was confounded when the Ācārya replied that he would do the digging if the ruler himself showed him how to do it. What seems clear from the above is that the ruler of Devagiri harassed the Ācārya while passing through his territory. We may not be far wrong in placing this event relating to the ruler of Devagiri between A.D. 1276 and A.D. 1286, when Īśvara Deva was ruling over the Yādava territory. If this is allowed, then, the Ācārya's discovery of the six *śalagrāmas* may be placed in A.D. 1285, and his return to Tuluva in A.D. 1290.¹

From A.D. 1290 till A.D. 1310 Madhvācārya was actively engaged in touring through Tuluva; and it is possible that in A.D. 1316-17 that the images of Rāma and Sītā were received by him.

1. The Muhammadan Sultan who was the contemporary of Madhvācārya, cannot be determined with certainty. Perhaps he was either Ghayasud Dīn Balban (A.D. 1266), or Muizzud Dīn Kaiyubād (A.D. 1286). Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 230. (2nd ed.). The late Mr Venkoba Rao, whose edition of Somanātha's *Vyāsayogacaritam* has just reached me through the courtesy of MM. Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhācārya, expressed the view that it was Balban "whom Śrī Madhvācārya met and who treated the Ācārya well." Intr. p. XXIII. (Bangalore, 1926). B. A. S.

The following table summarizes our deductions given above .—

Event	Date
Birth	A D. 1238 (Sept. the 20th Monday [Wednesday])
<i>Upanayanam</i>	A.D. 1249
Became <i>Pūrṇaprajña</i>	A.D. 1254
South Indian tour	A.D. 1256–A.D. 1259
Return to Tuluva	A.D. 1260–A D. 1265
I. north Indian tour	A D. 1266–A.D. 1271
Meeting with Narahari- tīrtha	A.D. 1270
Return to Tuluva	A.D. 1271
Discovery of the image of Kṛṣṇa	A.D. 1273
II. north Indian tour (last- ing over ten years)	A.D. 1276–1286
Discovery of the six <i>śālagrāmas</i>	A.D. 1285
Return to Tuluva	A D 1290
Touring about Tuluva	A D. 1290–A D. 1310
Receives the images of Rāma and Sitā	A D 1317
Death	A. D. 1317 (January the 22nd Saturday) ¹

Before we enumerate his works and principles, we may note that in the Ālupa records discovered so far no mention whatsoever is made of Madhvācārya.

1. The late Mr. Venkoba Rao arrived at certain conclusions in regard to the Ācārya's tours, which are different to mine. *Vyāsayogi-caritam*, Intr. pp. XXII, seq. B. A. S.

Between A.D. 1238 and A.D. 1317 kings Vibudhavasū, Vira Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I, Nāgadevarasa, and Bankideva Ālupendradeva II ruled over the Ālupa kingdom. And only two years before the death of Madhvācārya, Soyideva Ālupendradeva had come to the throne. It is permissible to assume that because of the increasing influence of the great Vaisnava preacher, the Śaivite centres were confined mostly to Kōṭa, Brahmāvūru, and Nilāvāra in the Uḍipi tāluka, Kōṭeśvara and Basarūru in the Kundāpūru tāluka, and Polali and Kadri in the Mangalore tāluka. This explains why the Ālupa records of this period are found only in these centres. It is only with Soyideva Ālupendradeva that the Ālupa capital reverts back to Bārakūru. And that was just the time when Madhvācārya had returned to Tuluva after his second northern tour. We have seen that Soyideva Ālupendradeva was a staunch supporter of the Śaivite religion. The absence of the name of Madhvācārya in any of the Ālupa records is to be attributed to the strong Śaivite tendency of the Ālupa kings, who were not inclined to favour a preacher whose avowed object in life seems to have been nothing but to wage a ceaseless crusade against Śaivism till his last days. But if the contemporaneity of king Vibudhavasū with the Madhva-pracāṇḍa-muni as given in the Puttige version of the *Grāmapaddhati* is accepted, then the description of the Madhva sage, which we shall presently give, was no other than that of Madhvācārya himself.

The following thirty-seven works are ascribed to Madhvācārya, according to the tradition current at Uḍipi:—

Gitā-bhāṣya, *Gitā-tātparya*, *Sūtra-bhāṣya*, *Anu-bhāṣya*, (or the two together *Bhāṣyānubhāṣya*), *Mahābhārata-tātparya-nirṇaya*, *Bhāgavata-tātparya*, (*Nṛsimha*) *Nakha-stotra*, *Yamaka-bhārata*, *Dvādaśa-stotra*, *Tantra-sāra*, *Sadā-cāra-smṛti*, *Yati-prānakalpa*, (or *Sukha-tīrtha-yati-kalpa*), *Jayanti-nirṇaya*, *R̥g-bhāṣya*, *Pramāṇa-laksana*, *Kathā-lakṣana*, *Tatva-saṅkhyāyana*, *Tatva-viveka*, *Māyā-vāda-khaṇḍana*, *Prapañca-mithyatva-māna-khaṇḍana*, *Upādhi-khaṇḍana*, *Tatvadyota*, *Viṣṇu-tatva-nirṇaya*, *Antereya-bhāṣya*, *Taittīreya-bhāṣya*, *Brhadāranya-bhāṣya*, *Īśvāsyā-bhāṣya*, *Khātaka-bhāṣya*, *Chandogya-bhāṣya*, *Atharvana-bhāṣya*, *Māṇḍūkya-bhāṣya*, *S'at-praśna-bhāṣya*, *Talavakāra-bhāṣya*, *Anu-vyākhyāna*, *Saṁnyāya-vivṛti*, *Kṛṣṇāmṛta-mahārṇava*, and *Karma-nirṇaya*.

The above may be compared with the thirty-seven works of Madhvācārya as given in the *Granthamālīkā-stotra*¹

¹ Bhandarkar, *Report on Search for Sansk. Mss* for 1882-83, pp. 24-25 (Poona, 1928) See also Guru Rao, *Granthamālīkāstotra*, vv. 3-13, pp. 9-10. (Uḍipi, 1924). The *Anumadvacaritam* relates the following relating to the works of Madhvācārya —That bestowing the standing image of Kṛṣṇa to Padmanābhatīrtha, he deposited the works at a place called Śetutīla —*tataḥ dayā-vārī-nidhigrāme Śetutīla-āhvaye sva-śāstra-grantham-akarot bhūgatam purnasemusih*. Guru Rao, *Anumadvacaritam*, p. 5. Śetutīla is another name of Kadṭala (Lat. 13° 21', Long. 74° 59'), 12 miles from Kārkala on the Kārkala-Someśvara road. According to some this place is 18 miles east of Kanvatīrtha. Srinivasacarva, *Uḍipi-kṣetra-mahimā*, p. 22. B. A. S.

We may now briefly allude to the principles preached by Madhvācārya. This champion of Vaisnavism confuted the doctrine of Māyā or unreality of the world, and maintained the theory of *bhakti* or love of God which could be practised by all without distinction of caste or creed. Rāmānujācārya had preached his gospel in the eleventh century A.D. But Madhvācārya discarded as much the qualified monism of Rāmānujācārya as he did the pure monism of Śāṅkarācārya. Following the Vaiśeṣikas, Madhvācārya declared that all knowledge sprang from Paramātmān, whatever were the means by which it was produced. And *mokṣa* could be attained by the direct knowledge of Hari along the eighteen different paths which are possible for all from Brahmadeva to man.¹

The scriptural authorities of this school founded by the Ācārya are besides his own writings, the four *Vedas*, the *Mahābhārata*, the original *Rāmāyana*, and the *Pañcarātra*.² According to Śrī R. G. Bhandarkar, since there is no place in Madhvācārya's creed for the Vyūhas, Vāsudeva and others, and since the name by which the Supreme Spirit is spoken of is mostly Viṣṇu, Gopāla Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā being entirely absent from his system, it is possible that he set aside the *Pañcarātra* or threw it into the background.³

1. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Śaivism, etc.*, pp. 81-86, Krishna Sastri, E. I., VI. p. 261.

2. Goldstücker, *Literary Remains*, I. pp. 349-250.

3. Bhandarkar, *ibid*, p. 87. On the *Pañcarātra*, read Bhattacharya, *Jayākhya-Samhitā*, Intr. p. 6 seq. (G. O. Series No. LIV).

The sectarian marks used by the followers of Madhvācārya may be first mentioned before we pass on to a description of the great preacher himself as given to us in the *Grāmapaddhati*. The Vaisnava Brahmans of the Madhva school wear today two white perpendicular lines of the clay called *gopicandana*, joined at the roots of the nose, with a black line in the middle that has a round red mark in the centre. A cross line joins the two lines on the bridge of the nose.¹ In daily life the followers of Madhvācārya wear merely the *gopicandana* marks and *pañca-mudrās* or the five marks of *śankha* or the conch-shell, *cakra* or the discus, *gadā* or the club, *padma* or the lotus, and *Nārāyana*. The last one, as will be seen presently, differs from the one given in the *Grāmapaddhati*.

Once a year, however, the ceremony of initiation takes place. This consists of stamping the *mudrās* with a heated metallic mark by the *guru*. It takes place on Āsāḍha Śuddha Śayanī Ekādaśī which falls in June-July. On this occasion the seniormost *Svāmī* of Uḍipi brands only two *mudrās*—the *śankha* and *cakra*—on the other *Svāmīs* of Uḍipi. Then these latter impress the two *mudrās* on their lay disciples. The following *purusa sūktā mantra* addressed to Sudarśana is recited on the occasion:—

Sudarśana mahā-jvālā kotī Sūrya-sama-prabhā !

cakrāṅkita namaste astu dhāranāt muktidaḥ-bhava ॥

The *Grāmapaddhati*, however, has a different *mantra* to

1. Cf. Goldstücker, *Lit. Rem.*, *ibid*; Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism*, p. 86.

give in this connection We shall mention it anon. The mark of the *cakra* is impressed on the right shoulder, and that of the conch, on the left.¹

An admirable picture of the great Madhvācārya and of the method by which he recruited disciples into his fold is given in the Puttige version of the *Grāmapaddhati*. The occasion when the Madhva muni is introduced is the following:—the Kōtīśvaras about whom we have mentioned some details in connection with punishments in early Tuluva, were wandering at will when they came upon a Madhva sage of great splendence. He was calm but with a vertical sectarian mark of (*gopi*) *candana* on his forehead. His arms were staff-like, and they were stamped likewise with sectarian marks. He was the very fire (*pracandam*) of the Madhva-mata in the Kali age. His limbs were likewise impressed with *mudrās*. On his left side were impressed the mark of lotuses (?). His left eye was raised looking at the forehead (*kapālam ālokita*), and he was wrapped in meditation on the Lord whom he had won in his heart (*hr̥di pratīpannam*). He wore an auspicious garland of *supadma* (Orris Root), and (appeared as if) he had absorbed the essence of the *brahmāṇḍa*. He sang the praise of the Lord Nrsimha and of Visnu:—

1. I am indebted to Vidyān Pandit Raghavendra Ballāla of Nidambūr, Udipi, for this information. I am told that there is another method of wearing the marks called the *pañca-mudrā-dhāraṇa*. This consists of having another conch mark on the left chest; and a discus on the right chest and on the stomach. For women the two discus marks are impressed on the shoulder. Cf. Srinivasacarya, *Udipi-kṣetra-mahimā*, p. 38. See *Infra* B. A. S.

*tathāṣṭākṣara-mantram-ca Viṣṇu-nāmāṅkitam śubham ।
 ṛṣiś-ca Vāmadevākhyah Chandonuṣṭup prakīrtitam ॥
 tathā Nārāyano devah kaivalyārtha-pradāyakah ।
 asya-śrī-Nārāyanāṣṭākṣara-mahā-mantrasya ॥*

*Vāmadeva ṛṣih Anuṣṭup Chandah śrī-Nārāyanah-devatā
 mahā-Viṣṇuprityarthe jape viniyogah hrām-iti saḍaṅgam
 śāntākāram-iti dhyānam Om namah Nārāyaṇāya mūla
 mantrah*

Then in the twelve parts of the body such as the forehead, etc., the great sage made the *mudrādhāraṇam* of the *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā*, *padma*, and the *dhvaja*. These are famous over the world as the *pañca-mudrā* :—

*phālādī-dvādaśa-sthāne mudrā-dhāraṇam āha sah ।
 śaṅkha-cakra-gadā-padma-dhvajaih-ca pariśobhitāḥ ॥
 etā praśastāḥ lokesmin pañcamudrā prakīrtitāḥ ।
 lalāte Keśavāya-iti tathā Nārāyaṇāya-iti-ca ॥
 hṛdaye dhāraṇam kṛyāṃ pūrṣvayoh-tad-anantaram ।
 tadvat Mādhava-Govindāya daksīṇe Viṣṇave-iti-ca ॥
 vāme.....(?) bāhumūle v'ṣṣyate ।
 tatath Trivikramāya-iti kapolādhah(ṛdha[?])-tu daksīṇe ॥
 anyasmīn Vāmanāya-iti S'ridharāya-iti tatkarē ।
 Hrṣikeśāya te tubhyam-iti kanthe vidhīyatām ॥
 idaṃ pavitraṃ paramaṃ gopānīyam prayatnataḥ ।
 kadācit-nopadestavyaṃ kṛtaghnāya durātmane ॥
 mayā yusmākam-uktaṃ yat sādhitam sva-prabhāvataḥ ।
 purā cakradharaś śrīmān bhītaṃ (prītaḥ?) mām uktavān-kila ॥
 kanthe ca tulasī dāma bhrūvor madhye ardha-puṇḍrakam ।
 mukhe ca-aṣṭākṣaram yasya Viṣṇur-eva na-saṁśayah ॥*

Then the great sage advised them thus:—"This holy and very secret *mantra* should be pronounced; it should never be taught to the wicked and the ungrateful (*kṛtaghnāya durātmane*). Verily was the *mantra* secured by me from Viṣṇu who wore the *cakra*, had a *tulasī* garland in his neck, a *punḍraka* mark on his forehead, and the *aṣṭākṣara* in his lips. Theretore, (prosper and) continue my teachings!"

So saying the great Madhva ascetic, who was duly worshipped by them, went away. The Brahmins, who were now purified, resided in that *grāma* (location?) having received the permission of the king.¹

In another connection we have a more detailed description of the method of conversion adopted by the great Madhva sage. The occasion was the following:—A Brahmin youth of the village of Belaṅje murdered his wife and her lover. The youth was punished by the people of the village with the permission of the king thus he was to be expelled along with his family from the village, and he was to go on pilgrimage along with them. So they went to Mahābaleśvara in Gorāṣṭra (evidently at Gokarna), and to the *tirtha* called Avimukta. Thence they came to Krodheśa (in Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa), and finally to Ananteśa (vara) at Uḍipī. Here they came across a great *muni* adorned with the *mudrās* of *śankha*, *cakra*, *gadā*, and *padma*. To him they confessed their guilt and how they came to be condemned. The great sage medi-

1. *The Puttise version.*

tated for a while and then presented them with the holy *tirtha* together with a *śālagrāma* which grew in that locality. This *śālagrāma* was called Janārdhana. The poor folk then continued their way and reached the Ghat region, where in their anxiety to eat a ripe jack fruit they forgot the *śālagrāma* they had left behind them at a distance of four *krośa*. When they hurried back to recover it, they were overjoyed to find the casket which contained the *śālagrāma* but the *śālagrāma* itself they could not remove because it had got itself trans-fixed in that place. Although a heavenly voice assured them that spot would become their own property and that god Janārdhana would become their family god, yet they returned disconsolate once again to the great Madhva sage. He now converted them into Vaisnavism by the seven following methods— *tapta mudrā*, *astāksara mantra*, *mudrā harana* (?), *mudrā lepana*, *mṛt-snāna*, *mudrā laksana* and *mudrā dhārana kārṇya*:—

*Munim-āloka yāmāsuḥ pūrvadrstaṃ mahātmanā ।
 so-pi drstvā mahātejāḥ pālayāmāsa śāstrataḥ ॥
 tapta mudrāṃ tataḥ kṛtvā mataṃ Vaisnavasamjñakam ।
 tathaiva astākṣaram-mantram parañcopadideśa-saḥ ॥
 ā no bhadre-ti mantrena mudrā-haranam-ucyate ।
 amandair-iti sūktena mudrā-lepanam-isyate ॥
 aksibhyānta (?) -iti mantrena mṛdā snānam viśisyate ।
 phālādi-dvādaśa-sihāne mudrā laksanam āha saḥ ॥
 śankha-cakra-gadā-padma dhva (bhujaiḥ ?) ca parīśobhitam ।
 eteśam-ca praśastāś-ca loka-mudrāḥ prakīrtitāḥ ॥
 lalāte dhāranam kārṇyam ato-deveti mantrataḥ ।*

idaṃ Viṣnucā-nityaṃ hṛdaye dhāranam smṛtaṃ ॥
 daksine bāhumūle-tu trīni pada-iti mantrataḥ ।
 tathaiva vāmamūle-tu Viṣṇoḥ-karmāni mantrataḥ ॥
 tad-Viṣṇuh-iti mantrena kapole daksine smṛtaḥ ।
 tad-viprūsa-iti mantrena kapole vāmake śubhe ॥
 Viṣṇoḥ-nuketi mantrena uttamānge vidhīyate ।
 prathat (pratak ?) Viṣṇukanṭha-deśe mudravā-cakra-
 samjñayā ॥
 pravaiṣṇava-iti kuksau samyakt-avidhīyatām ।
 yasya tripūrnā mantrena pṛṣṭa-deśe vidhīyate ॥
 tadasya priya mantrena vāma pārśve viśiṣyate ।
 tāvām vāsmī (vāsti[?])-iti mantrena daksine pārśvage śubhe ॥
 iti-eva dvādaśa-aṅgeṣu veda mantraiḥ vidhīyatām ।
 idaṃ pavitraṃ paramaṃ gopaniyam prayatnataḥ ॥
 kadācit-na-upa-deśtavyaṃ kṛtaghnāya durātmane ।¹

6 THE BHĀGAVATA SĀMPRADĀYA

Round Ananteśvara, an essentially Śaivite temple, lived in early days the Smārthas of the Bhāgavata sāmpradāya from whom as well as from the Kōṭīśvaras, Madhvācārya recruited disciples into his fold.² This is

1. *The Puttige version*, Ch. 194. Cf. the description given in the *Padma Purāṇa*, Vol. IV. Ch. 25, pp 1799-1810 (Poona, 1894) where the *prātaptā-śaṅkha-cakra vidhīḥ ūrdhva-pundra-dhāraṇa vidhīḥ, aṣṭāk-ṣara-mantra-abhyāsa prakārah*, etc. are given in detail.

2. The following conclusively prove that the Ananteśvara temple was a Śaivite temple the image of Īśvara itself in the temple, the shrine (*gudī*) of Subrahmanya and the *nāgakallu* or serpent stones near the *vrindāvana* and the *bhōjana-śālā*; the stone Nandi or bull which has been partially destroyed by the people; and the flag of the bull which has been replaced by the Garuda *pata* in our own days. B. A. S.

not surprising, since there was one fundamental conception that was common to the preaching of Madhvācārya and that of the Bhāgavata *sāṃpradāya* sect: it was the path of *bhakti* along which the votaries of both the sects could reach *mukti*.¹ The origin of the Bhāgavata sect is, however, still an unsettled problem.² An equally difficult question, at least so far the history of Tuluva is concerned, is the advent of the Bhāgavatas into Tuluva.

Nevertheless it is permissible to assume that since no mention whatsoever is made of the Bhāgavata sect in the Ālupa records of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, they may have come to Tuluva somewhere in the middle of the twelfth century. We base our assumption on the following identity of Tuluva tradition with the evidence of epigraphs

1. The Bhāgavatas of Tuluva claim to be Śaivites but observe the Ekāḍśis like the Vaiṣṇavites. They wear the *gopīcandana* but not the *mudrās*. On the Bhāgavata sect, read G. A. Grierson, *Bhaktimārga* in James Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religions*, II p. 539, seq. (Edinburgh, 1909). B. A. S.

2. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar maintains that the Bhāgavata system based on the Pañcarātra *samhitās*, "must have developed in about the third century B. C. *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.* p. 54. (Poona, 1928) But we are yet nowhere near the solution of this question. Read, D. L. De, *Pañcarātra and the Upanisads*, *I. H. Q.*, IX. pp. 645-662, Amarnatha Ray, *Śrī Kṛṣṇa and the Source of the Bhagavata-gītā*, *ibid*, pp. 188-196 J. Przyluski, *The Śaivam Śātvata, and Nasantya*, *ibid*, pp. 88-91, may also be read in this connection. Rice quotes an opinion of Buhler—which I am unable to trace—to the following effect—that the Bhāgavatas are "the oldest Hindu sect of which we know, older than Buddhism. *E. C.* III. Intr. p. 22. It has been reported in the newspapers that Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has come across the name of Bhāgavata in a Brahmi inscription. B. A. S.

The oldest *matha* of the Bhāgavatas is at Bālekuduru close to the ancient harbour of Hangārakatta in the Kundāpūru tāluka.¹ According to the tradition current in Tuluva, the founder of the *matha* was Kaivalyāśrama Svāmi. When he visited Māyāguṇḍi near Udipi, he was requested by Parapali Nāyaka to use his spiritual powers and cause a spring to rise in a tank which that generous soul had dug on the rock at Māyāguṇḍi. Kaivalyāśrama Svāmi acceded to the request of Parapali Nāyaka, sat in the tank, and in no time caused a spring to rise in it. But the spring gushed forth so violently that the Svāmi was drowned. Parapala Nāyaka, frightened to death, was told, however, in a dream by the Svāmi that that was to be his *vrndāvana*. It was accordingly done so by Parapali Nāyaka.²

Tradition, therefore, connects the earliest memories of the Bālekuduru *matha* with Parapali Nāyaka who lived, as we have seen, in A.D. 1138. This would mean that the Bhāgavata *sāmpradāya* took firm roots in Tuluva only in the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D.³

1 But the original seat seems to have been near Kundāpūru itself. This points to a coastal migration of the sect in early times. My first visit to the Bālekuduru *matha* in December 1932 proved barren. But I still hope to procure some valuable information from that *matha*. B A S.

2. This was related to me by the priests of the Durgā temple at Māyāguṇḍi in Puttūru, near Udipi, on 15-1-1933. B.A.S.

3. A copper plate grant in the Kūḍli Śringeri *matha*, assigned to circa A.D. 1154 but of doubtful authenticity, mentions the victory which Vidyāsankara Tīrtha of Śringeri won over the Rāmānuja doctrine and the Bhāgavata-*ārādhya*. The ruler given in this grant is Pura-

A most famous name among the Bhāgavatas of Tuluva is that of Bhaṭṭācārya Prabhākara, who is reputed to have been the compiler of the *Grāmapaddhati*, and, as some maintain, to have been himself the founder of the Bālekuduru *matha*. This latter statement, however, seems to be incorrect, if we are to reply on the evidence of the following stone inscription found in the Īśvara temple in the Nāḍamaduvu village of Sāgara tāluka in the Mysore State. This inscription relates that Viṭṭhaya Senabova was the spiritual son (*dīksā-putra*) of the *rāya-rāja-guru* Bhaṭṭācārya, and the son of Hāru-vigoppa Vāmana Hebbāruva and Śātakkā. The epigraph is dated *S'aka varuṣa 1220 neya Hemalambī samvat-sarada Phālguṇa S'u 15 Ā* which works out to A.D. 1298 February Thursday the 27th, the week-day not corresponding.¹ The ruler mentioned in the grant is the

dhara Rāya of the Kadamba family. But the copper-plate mentions Vidyāranya Svāmī of Śringeri as well. Since this is inadmissible, because Vidyāranya Śrīpāda came after Vidyāsankara Svāmī, and since the grant contains many passages which make no connected sense, its evidence cannot be relied upon. *E. C.* VII. Sh. 79, pp. 29-30, text pp. 78-90. We could have identified Vidyātīrtha Svāmī with Vidyāsankara of the *Madhva-vijaya* but for the fact that the latter is distinctly spoken of as having hailed from Kudya-pustūrāya of Tuluva. If the above Kūḍli grant were authentic, we could have placed Vidyātīrtha Svāmī's victory over the Bhāgavata-*ārādhyā* before Madhvācārya's sojourn to the south, *i.e.*, in about A.D. 1256-59. But under the circumstances, this is impossible. I may also note that, according to Mr. Govindācārya Svāmī, the Bhāgavata *sāmpradāya* followers, due to the pressure brought about by the Muhammadans in western India in the eighth century A.D., migrated to the south and peopled the Telugu, Tamil and Karnāṭaka lands. *I. A.* XLII. p. 196. *B. A. S.*

1. *E. C.* VIII, Sa. 99, pp. 109, 297, Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* IV p. 198; Sewell-Dikshit *The Indian Calendar*, Table 1.

Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kōti Nāyaka of Hosagunda. It cannot be determined whether Bhaṭṭācārya was the *rāja-guru* of that ruler; neither can it be ascertained when and how he came to Tuluva.¹

But what seems certain is that the Karnāṭaka too contained centres of Bhāgavata sect. We shall briefly sketch the history of the Bhāgavata *sāmpradāya* in the Karnāṭaka. The most prominent centres were Hariharapura, Bhaṇḍigaḍe, Jambitige, Talakāḍ, Tīrthamuttūru, and Mulbāgal. The Smārthas of Hariharapura assert that their *Svāmīs* are descended in spiritual succession from Bhaṭṭapādācārya, one of the immediate disciples of Śankarācārya. The *maṭha* contains two shrines—one dedicated to Nṛsimha, and the other to Śārādā. The former is said to have been set up by Sureśvarācārya, another immediate disciple of Śankarācārya. The car festival (*rathotsava*) of both Nṛsimha and Śārādā takes place at an interval of about twelve days in the month of Vaiśākha (March) every year. The disciples of the *maṭha* are confined mostly to Koppa, Mūdgere, and Tīrthahaḷḷi. In A.D. 1393 in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Harihara Rāya II, the viceroy Sābaṇṇa Oḍeyar granted a stone *śāsana* to Rāmacandra Sarasvatī Oḍeyar of Pratāpa Hariharapura *maṭha*, embodying certain gifts of rent, in confirmation of the royal grant made by Harihara Rāya himself to the same spiritual head of the *maṭha*.²

1. Śrī Brahmānanda Svāmī of the Bālekuḍuru *maṭha* died on Tuesday, the 26th June 1934. He had a good following in South Kanara, Shimoga, and in some places in the Mysore State. B. A. S.

2. E. C. VI. Kp. 49, p. 85; *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1916, p. 9. In a

About fifteen miles from Hariharapura is another Smārtha centre in the village of Bhaṇḍigaḍe. The god in this *mātha* is Gopāla Kṛṣṇa; and its disciples are known as Kōtadavaru, because they hailed from Kōta in Tuluva.¹

About a mile from Hariharapura is the *agrahāra* of Jambitige which contains a small neat temple of Nīla-khantheśvara built, however, so late as A.D. 1733. It has about fifteen houses of well-to-do Smārtha Brahmins.²

Talakād in the Tirumukūḍlu-Narsīpura tāluka is an important seat of the followers of the Bhāgavata *sāmpradāya*. Since the village named Koppāla, a few miles from Talakād, belongs to this *matha*, it is also called by the name Koppāla *matha*. This *matha* was founded by Kṛṣṇānanda Svāmi, who was third in apostolic descent from Padmāpādācārya, the immediate disciple of Śankarācārya. The spiritual succession is thus given —

Śankarācārya
|
Padmāpādācārya
|
Visnu Svāmi
|
Kṣīra Svāmi
|
Kṛṣṇānanda Svāmi

stone inscription found at Hariharapura dated A.D. 1573 Mādhava-sarasvatī is mentioned as the head of the Hariharapura *matha* *My. Arch. Rep.* for 1932, pp. 204-205.

1-2. *My. Arch. Rep.* for 1916-17, p. 9.

In succession to Kṛṣṇānanda Svāmi, after a long interval, came Abhinava Bālakṛṣṇānanda Svāmi, whose disciple was Bālakṛṣṇānanda Svāmi. The disciple of the latter is the present Svāmi.¹

In the Tirthahalli tāluka we have two Smārtha centres—one at Tīrthamuttūru and the other at Muḷbāgal. The disciples of the *matha* at Tīrthamuttūru are a sect of Brahmans known as the Pañcagrāmadavarū (or those of the Five *grāmas*), with whom the other Smārthas do not mix. The god of this *matha* is Nṛsimha.²

The head of the Smārtha *matha* of Mūlbāgal claims spiritual descent from Padmapādācārya mentioned above as the immediate disciple of Śankarācārya. It is said that Padmapādācārya was appointed head of the *matha* at Dvārkā by Śankarācārya himself. According to the tradition current at Mūlbāgal, Agniruddha Kṛṣṇā-

1 *Mys Arch. Rept.* for 1911-12, pp. 11-12. The *matha* contains some spurious records dated Śaka 819, and Śaka 916 of Mādhavamantri of Vijayanagara history. *Ibid.* Rice has edited one of these grants which he assigned to *circa* A.D. 1437. But since the ruler mentioned therein was called Vijaya Vidyā Deva Rāya, and since it was only a copy supplied by the people, Rice declared that it was unreliable. In this spurious record the Koppāla *matha* is called the *matha* of Agniruddha Kṛṣṇānanda Svāmi, otherwise known as the southern Kāśī of the Gajājanya-ksetra. The village of Koppāla is described in this record to have been presented to Kṛṣṇānanda Svāmi by the minister Mādhava of Vijayanagara, in the presence of the god Arkeśvara on the bank of the northern stream. The god worshipped in this *matha* is Vēnugopāla Kṛṣṇa. *E. C.* III. Intr. p. 22, TN. 47, p. 76.

2 *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1916, p. 9. An inscription dated A.D. 1037 mentions the Pañcagrāmas. *E. C.* XI. Dg. 126, p. 74. The *Puttige* version of the *Grāmapaddhati* has a detailed description to give of the Pañcagrāmas which we abstain from citing. The *Sahyādri-kanda* is said to refer to these Brahmans. P. I. Adhyaya, 147. B. A. S.

nanda Svāmi, twenty-seventh in apostolic succession from Padmapādācārya of the Dvārakā *matha*, came to the south about three centuries ago, and stayed at Mūlbāgal. On the invitation of the Ikkeri king Bhadrappa Nāyaka, he went to the Tīrthahaḷḷi tāluka, and founded a *matha* named after Mūlbāgal at Bhadrāsamudra, and received a grant of an *agrahāra* from the Ikkeri king. Before leaving for Tīrthahaḷḷi, however, he founded a *matha* at Talakāḍ, and appointed a *Svāmi* to it. The Mūlbāgal *matha* thus claims that the *mathas* at Dvārakā and Talakāḍ are its branches. It is said that "some papers in possession of the *matha* show that its claim was admitted by an assembly of disciples and scholars that met at Surat about thirty-five (i.e., now fifty) years ago". It is maintained that Kṛṣṇānanda Svāmi is described in grants ranging from A.D. 1660 to A.D. 1662, as the promoter of the doctrines of Visnusvāmi, who, according to the published succession list of the Dvārakā *matha*, was the immediate successor of Padmāpādācārya. The god here as at Talakāḍ is Gopāla Kṛṣṇa. Mr. Narasimhācārya's conclusion in regard to both the *mathas* may be noted:—"It may therefore be concluded that the *mathas* at Mūlbāgal and Talakāḍ came into existence in about the middle of the 17th century."¹

We may note in passing that in a copper-plate grant assigned to A.D. 1661, registering the gift of two villages named Raṇaghata and Hirekalyāṇi, to the head of

1. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1919, p. 38.

- (1) the *matha* Viṣṇusvāmi, by the Vijayanagara ruler Ranga Rāya, the following apostolic succession is given:—

Nārada
|
Vyāsa
|
Śukha
|
Gauḍapāda
|
Govinda
|
Kṣīrasvāmi
|
Vitthala
|
Śrīdhara
|
Viṣṇusvāmi¹

Whatever may be the claims of priority which the Mūlābāgal *matha* can put forward over the *mathas* of Dvārakā and Talakāḍ, one fact seems clear from the above account of the Smārtha *mathas* of the Karnāṭaka, namely, that no Bhāgavata *sāmpradāya matha* in that region seems to be so old as the Bāḷekuduru *matha* of Tuḷuva which dates back to the twelfth century A.D.

1. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1919, p. 37. In A.D. 1812 the Mysore ruler Kṛṣṇa Rāja Oḍeyar III gave a *sanad* remitting some specified taxes to Kṛṣṇānanda Svāmi of the same *matha*. The *sanad* was written in Persian, Marāṭhi and Kannada. The reason given for the remission was that the Svāmi represented to the State that the balance left after the payment of the *jōḍi* to the government did not suffice for the upkeep of the *matha*. *Mys. Arch. Rep., ibid.*, p. 43. Sturrock confounds the Śīvaḷli Brahmans with the Bhāgavata Brahmans, and relates that the headquarters of the latter is Śīvaḷli ! *S. C. Manual*, I. pp. 147-8. R. A. C.

Popular conception assigns the advent of the Kāna-pāṭhī Jogis into Tuḷuva in the ninth or tenth century A.D. This is erroneous, as will be shown in a later treatise in which the question of the introduction of Muhammadanism into Tuḷuva will also be discussed.

CHAPTER VI

LIFE IN EARLY TULUVA

Summary —1. The different peoples of Tuluva 2. Seasons and State of Agriculture. 3. Commerce. 4. Dress and Ornaments. 5. War. 6. Amusements. 7. Means of Communication. 8 Sources of Revenue 9. Education. 10. Religion. 11 Customs and Manners. 12. A Picture of a Tuluva Household. 13. The *Būdu* or Manorial House of a Tuluva Chieftain

1. THE DIFFERENT PEOPLES OF TUḤUVA

The Pāḍadānas or folk-songs of Tuḥuva are a valuable source of information for a study of the life which the Tuḥuvas led in early and mediaeval times. Tuluva is rich in these folk-songs which have not yet been utilized for historical purposes. There are innumerable Pāḍadānas in the Tuḥu language. Out of these we shall select only three kinds of Pāḍadānas that have a direct bearing on the history of Tuluva. These are the Pāḍadānas concerning heroes like Kōṭi and Cennaya ; historical folk-songs of the type of Deva Pūñja which describe the wars between the Venūru and Bangar rulers , and ordinary folk-songs which are sung on marriage and such other ceremonial occasions.¹

1. Most of the well known Pāḍadānas have appeared in the *Pāḍadonolu* by the Rev. Manner. Mangalore, 1886. A C. Burnell translated them in the pages of the *I A.* Vol. XXIII, seq. Mr. Ganpat Rao Aṅgal has published a few of them. And my own collection which contains altogether different variants of most of these Pāḍadānas, has been enriched by perfectly new Pāḍadānas not found either in the collection of Manner or in those of Mr Aṅgal. Strictly

The activities of the Tulu people centred round their village which with its wet and dry lands, its ferry master and his boats, its local trade and cottage industries, its little public school and thatched abode of the astute village astrologer, its boar hunt and such other inexpensive games, its well defined Billavar house and Bunt habitation, its village assembly and rules of social ostracism, and finally its *būḍu* or the manorial house, was a self-contained unit which was responsible for the preservation of the traditional culture of the Tulu people.

The country was inhabited by practically the same people we see in it now, but the names of some seven or eight prominent classes are mentioned in the folk-songs of Tuluva. They are the Billavars, the Bunts, the Brahmans, the Jainas, the Mogers, the Māpiḷḷas, the Pombadas and the Holeyas. Reference, of course, is made to the Koragars, the Kunbis, the Vakketars, and in later Pāḍadānas, also to the native Christians. Of all these peoples the Billavars and the Bunts seem to have enjoyed the most prominence, as can be made out from the fact that one of the longest and most well known of the folk-songs, *Kōṭi Cennaya*, deals entirely with the daring deeds of two Billavar boys; while the

speaking any account of the life of the Tulu people based on the Pāḍadānas ought to give in brief some of the main folk-songs which are the basis of the remarks made in this chapter. But considerations of space compel me to refer the reader to the pages of the *I. A* where Burnell has, on the whole, given an accurate rendering of the Tulu Pāḍadānas. B A. S.

achievements of a Buṇṭ hero are sung in a famous Pāḍa-dāna called *Agōḷi Mañjanna*. Here and there mention is continually made of the Buṇṭ Bāragas without whose sanction and suggestion not even the Ballāḷa, the chief of the Tuḷuva manor, found it advisable to execute the smallest of his plans. The name Ballāḷa, however, bespeaks a Karnāṭaka origin. There were the Brahmans, who were, as else where, the custodians of learning. Besides these, the Kunbīs, who may be reckoned to be one of the earliest inhabitants of Tuḷuva, and the Holeyas, who had something to do with the ownership of land, also figure in the Pāḍadānas. In the village of Aḍakanelliṇjine the Koragars lived in their own sheds called *koppu*, while the Mogers lived in their *vōm*, and the Bākaders (Bākuḍers) lived on the plains.¹ In the Pāḍadāna called *Bobbariye* the career of the Māpilla is described. Christians are referred to in the song called *Toḍakīnār*.²

We may have some idea of the people in Tuluva from the Pāḍadāna of *Bobbariye*. The seven children of Murava Byāri and Fātima started from their home at Sulikall Kaḍañjar on a life of trade and went to Peiryer Kaḍañjar. An astrologer called Nāḍu Balaya told them that they would succeed in their enterprise if they came across a *puñjapatta* (small building) built on twelve *māgaṇes* where cocks crow, and if they built "a roof over Brahmā and his post". "If Puñja

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 41.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

is the *bhūta* for the *patta* for the thousand people in the twelve villages he must ride in a palanquin at full speed and must cry out thrice” said they.¹ These above-named people, including the Brahmans, lived on agriculture.

The Kunbis, who appear to be the same people as the Kurumbars or Kudumbis of the southern peninsula, are described as having a temple of their own. When Kōṭi and Cennaya followed their guide Cennaya of Eḍambūru, through the forest of Kemmuḷe, they saw something about which they questioned him thus — “What is it in the distance, Cennaya of Eḍambūru, what is it that in height equals a cocoanut tree and in circumference an umbrella and is shaped like an umbrella? Is it a mosque of the Māpillas? Or a temple of the Kuḍumbis? Or a temple of the Jains? Or simply a temple? Or is it a *guḍi* belonging to the *bhūta* Bhramara?”²

The Pombadas, or the traditional devil-dancers, spent their time in the propitiation of the *bhūtas*, who formed the powerful deities of the village. When the rains set in, as can even now be seen all over Tuluva, the Pombadas set themselves to making umbrellas and such other monsoon requisites, while with the advent of summer, they got everything ready to personate the spirits of the dead heroes. A Pombada’s services were called into requisition by no less a personage than the

1. *Ibid*, XXV, p. 240

2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 47.

Ballāḷa himself, who would "get up early", and go "in search of a man to represent the *bhūta*".¹ And then to the Pombada thus would the Ballāḷa say—"O Devil-dancer! Today in my *būdu* a *sthāna* is to be dedicated to a new *bhūta* Pañjurli. I have asked for an auspicious day, and today is the day. Therefore you must come to represent the *bhūta* and dance. You must come in the evening and be ready. All your neighbours will come at this time. You must come soon. Otherwise there will be delay on your account. Take care, you must come. Now I am going".² Such indeed was the polite order which the Ballāḷa gave to his tenant, the devil-dancer.

The Holeyas or Pariahs were mostly concerned with the servile work of the higher classes. The Ballāḷa of Parimale finding the two young heroes, Kōṭi and Cennaya, obdurate, as regards the grant of a field, sent his nephew to pacify them. "And the nephew then took some precious shawls in both his hands, and said to the brothers—"O my heroes! make peace, and I will give you whatever you want'. 'Give your shawls to the Pariahs that have long served you! We will never enter the hall we have once left', replied the brothers."³

The Māpilla are spoken of as a trading class. Indeed, the Pāḍadāna called *Bobbariye* (Bābu Byāri?) seems to deal with the advent of Muhammadan traders

1. *I. A* XXVI, p. 67.

2. *Ibid*, p. 67.

3. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 32.

into South Kanara. They are mentioned as traders in stone, cocoanut fibre and such other articles in which even to this day they deal. In the Pāḍadāna called *Attāvara Doyyongūlu*, we are informed that they occupied a high place in the government of the Bangar kings of Pānemangalūru; and that they remained on terms of utmost goodwill and respect with their Hindu brethren of Uddara (Uddaḷa), near Manjēśvara.¹ It is customary for the *bhūtas* called Doyyongūlu of Uddara, during their annual festivals, to go to the *masjid* of Uddara and give an assurance to the memory of a now-forgotten Mahammadan general, who, it is said, once presented them with lands in the same place.

Besides these Māpiḷḷas, there were the Mogers who are described both as fishermen and as warriors in the Pāḍādanas. The Brahman whom Cennaya had intended to slay, warns them of the "hostile reception which they (*i. e.*, Kōṭi and Cennaya) would meet at the hands of the Koragars living in their sheds called *koppu*, the Mogers in their sheds called *vōṇi*, and the Bākaḍers of the plains," of the village called Aḍakanelliṅṅine. And when the two heroes actually reached the village, the Mogers, who were "carrying bows" with "each a blade of grass in his hand," fell prostrate before them crying for protection.²

The Mogers were sometimes compelled to perform feats of strength by the Ballāḷa. The Ballāḷa of

1. Aygal, *Doyyongūlu*, p. 2. (Mangalore, 1924).

2. *I. A.*, XXIII, p. 41, *op. cit.*

Mardāl wanted to build a *sthāna* for the *bhūta* Pañjurli. He had felled as many trees as possible with the aid of the carpenters, and then he wanted to have them dragged to the place where the *sthāna* was to be built. "One day he went to Polippu and called all the fishermen, and said to them—'How many males are there in your house?' and when one fisherman answered that they were four in all, and another two, the Ballāla said, 'O you fishermen! hear, each one of you: trees have been felled in the forests for the purpose of building a *sthāna* for the Ballāla's *būḍu*. All these trees should be brought to the *būḍu* because the day is fixed for the building of the *sthāna* and for raising the upper storey, therefore the work is stopped. Therefore, tomorrow all of you must come together, one or two hundred of you must join together and bring the trees to my house. The man who does not come will be fined. And if he does not pay the fine, I will see that nobody gives him chunam or fire.'"¹

The Brahmans and the Jainas, who occupied a high position in Tuluva society, were mainly given to the study of scriptures and the use of arts. The former would always refer to their *prāsana* book for every little incident that needed an explanation. In such grave matters like the building and consecration of a *bhūta sthāna*, the advice of the Brahman astrologer was most keenly felt. The Ballāla of Mardāl, who will figure often in these pages, having got all things ready "went

1. I. A., XXVI, p. 65.

to the fortune-telling Bhatta's house. When he went he found the Bhatta sitting in the verandah and telling fortunes." The Ballāḷa said, "O Bhatta! I came to visit you, according to your fortune-telling on that day my racing buffaloes survived. If not, they would have certainly died. Now I have to get a *sthāna* built; and a cot and other ornaments for Pañjurli *bhūta* are all ready. Now you must find out the auspicious day, and tell me on what day we should establish Pañjurli *bhūta*, and dedicate the *sthāna* to him. For this purpose I am come to you."¹

And when Pañjurli thus wanted to make himself felt on the plains below, and chiefly in the royal *būḍu* of the Ballāḷa Mardāl, the *prāsana* book of the Brahmans proved another source of income to them. From astrologers they now became village doctors, and aided the villagers in the matter of stopping the spread of diseases. The *bhūta* Pañjurli thought of a plan. He slipped into the cow-pen of the *būḍu* and entered into the bodies of the buffaloes. The result was a violent coughing among the cattle of the *būḍu*. In utter despair the Ballāḷa hurried to the house of the Bhatta, with two cocoanuts, the husk of which had been removed, as presents. "Then the Ballāḷa said, 'O Bhatta! In my *būḍu* my racing-buffaloes are ailing. They are on the point of death. Whatever I do is of no avail. They never had such sickness before. Please, therefore, discover the cause and use some means to stop the dis-

1. I. A. XXVI, p. 66.

ease. You only can do it, there is no other way' ”¹ And the Bhaṭṭa came to the rescue of the Ballāḷa not before the latter had added half a rupee to the cocoanuts in the shape of fees for his astrological calculations. Then the Bhaṭṭa said, — “You see! There is great distress in your house. But because the present you have placed has come forth at the sign of Meṣa, I can say it is a *bhūta* with a hog’s face.. Now he asks sacrifice from you ...and to have a *sthāna* built for him and sacrifices offered.”² Thus did the Brahman stop the disease in the Ballāḷa’s house.

Over and above this vocation of theirs, the Brahmanas are described as tilling the land. The Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru, to whom the two young heroes, Kōṭi and Cennaya, has been introduced by Cennaya of Eḍambūru, in order to persuade the brothers to remain in his own principality, as a safeguard against his enemy, the Ballāḷa of Pañja, offered them the field tilled by Brahmanas. “Oh, heroes! It now behoves you to remain in my kingdom. Do you want the field called Berampolli cultivated by Brahmanas, or that called Guttuberke cultivated by the Bunts, or that called Mattil Nāḷaja cultivated by the Billavars?” asked the Ballāḷa.³

While so much in detail is known about the Brahmanas, little can be gathered about the Jainas except that they had *bastis* of their own, that many of them were Śeṭṭis or heads of trade guilds, and that they had

1-2. I. A. XXVI, p. 52.

3. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 48.

Ballālas among them, some of whom seemed to have believed in spirit worship. In one Pāḍadāna we have a traditional account of the manner in which the great statues of Gōmaṭa at Kārkaḷa and Vēnūru were built.¹

As regards the Billavars and the Bunts, however, very much can be gathered from the Pāḍadānas. Although there is nothing to prove in the folk-songs that the Bunts were given to warfare and the use of deadly weapons, yet they are always mentioned with respect as the Bāragas, which term is applied to them in some parts of Tuḷuva even today.² The activities of the Billavar heroes are described in the long Pāḍadāna called *Kōti Cennaya*, which we have referred to in these pages. In one version of this song, these Billavar heroes tell the Brahman who was in charge of *dharmakattē*, that they wore the thread to mark their religion but were Billavar by caste!³ The Billavars are always described as the age-long and privileged toddy-drawers of the land. When Cennaya wanted to pick up a quarrel with Buddyanta, Kōti advised him thus.—“You, Cennaya, are cruel. Anger and strife may happen between you and the foolish Buddyanta. Our caste-occupation is to extract *tāri*. Do you, Cennaya, attend to that business.”⁴ Then, again, when the poor Joti Brahman girl, who had been left blindfolded in the forest, because she has

1. I. A. XXV, p. 216, seq.

2. The Pāḍadāna of Kānta Bāre and Pūva Bāre deals with the activities of these two Bunt heroes. B. A. S.

3. I. A. XXIII, p. 40.

4. *Ibid*, XXIV, p. 148.

attained puberty before marriage, had her bonds loosened, she asked her deliverer, Sāma Āḷva Baidya of Parimaḷe, why he had come to the forest. And he replied:—“I came to take palm-juice from the palm-trees which are in the forest. This forest belongs to the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe, and I am the palm-climber of this forest”.¹

What an amount of importance was attached to the work of extracting juice from the palm-trees can be seen from the fact that the palm-climber of Parimaḷe had been given a camel by the Ballāḷa to carry to his own house thirty maunds of palm-juice every day. Sāma Āḷva told the girl of the Joti Brahman caste that, when he had heard her crying, and had seen her from the top of a palm-tree, he had hastened down and tied his camel to a palm tree. Then the girl questioned him why he wanted a camel. To which he replied, “I take the palm-juice on the back of the camel. I take thirty maunds of palm-juice every day. I cannot carry it on my head. Therefore the Ballāḷa has given me a camel. He is very kind to me”.²

The revenue from liquor formed a very important source of income of the Ballāḷa's establishment.³ On what terms the Ballāḷa gave his palm-tree plantations for tapping to the toddy-drawer, we are not able to find out. But that the Ballāḷa owed much, if not all, of his greatness to the exertions of the toddy-drawer of

1. I. A. XXV, p. 296

2. *Ibid*, p. 297.

3. See *infra* Section 8.

his *būḍu* can be made out from the most generous manner in which he promised to assist Sāma Āḷva in regard to the celebration of a marriage. The Joti Brahman girl whom Sāma Āḷva had rechristened Dēyi Baidyedī, was betrothed, according to one version, to his nephew Sāyana Baidya ; and Sāma Āḷva went to his master, the Ballāla of Parimale to receive aid and permission from his patron to celebrate the marriage. The Ballāla at once answered—"Ask me whatever you want ! O Āḷva, tell me how much you require," and, again, " O Sāma Āḷva, why are you afraid ? I will help you. I will give you whatever you may require."¹ And although what poor Sāma Āḷva asked for was only half a *korji* of rice,—which, his sister shrewdly observed, had, according to etiquette, to be returned to the Ballāla—yet the spontaneous offer of help from the Ballāla proves that the master of the royal *būḍu* considered his palm-juice climber not in the light of a servant but in that of a worthy friend.

2 SEASONS AND STATE OF AGRICULTURE

The principal occupation to which the high and the low devoted their attention was agriculture. The lands cultivated were not the high grounds but those on a lower level. High lands were used as grounds for pastures or as arecanut plantations. All arable lands were divided into three kinds—the *bailu*, the *majelu*, and the *betta*. The *baila* ground is described by

1. *I. A* XXV, p. 296, *op. cit.*

Buchanan as the lower part of the valleys which are watered by small streams, from whence canals are dug to convey the water to the fields which by this irrigation are able to give annually two crops. The *majelu* land is higher than the *bailu*, and is provided with small reservoirs which ensure one crop, when the rains last only for two or three months. From some of these reservoirs the water is let out by a sluice. It is raised from others by means of the *yātam*, or by a basket suspended between ropes. The *betta* land is the highest part of the rice grounds, and is provided with neither streams nor reservoirs, so that the crop depends entirely on the rains. In some places there is another kind of rice ground called *patla*. During the rainy season it is so inundated that it cannot then be cultivated, and as the water dries, the rice is transplanted. On the *bailu* land there are three crops in the year; the first *yenelu*, the second *suggi*, and the third *koḷake*. This last is only produced by a few sprouts particularly favoured with water.¹

This division of the agriculture seen by Buchanan in the year A.D. 1800 was in vogue since early times in Tuluva. We find in the *Pāḍadānas* definite reference to the *yenelu* and *suggi* crops. When the Ballāla of Perimaḷe had finished apportioning the fields between the two brothers, Kōṭi and Cennaya, on one hand, and Buddyanta, on the other, "he advised them to make some offering to Buddyanta, whenever they might sow

1. Buchanan, *A Journey*, III. p. 37.

it. With the intention of sowing the *yenelu* seed at the proper time, they gathered all the refuse of the field and set fire to it. And then after eighteen days of the month of Paggu (*i. e.*, April-May) had passed, they ploughed the field with two pairs of he-buffaloes. Thus did they cultivate the *yenelu* crop."¹

When they cultivate the fields, and transplant crop, the Tulu people sing folk-songs like the following:—

Oh ! Payyo !

Oh ! work ! Oh ! work ! Oh ! work, work – Oh !

little Payyo !

Where Payyo was born, there was a kingdom.

To one mother there was one child.

Oh ! work ! Oh ! work ! Oh ! work, work, Oh !

little Payyo (Chorus)

In the southern kingdom was Payyo born ,

When Payyo was a little suckling child,

His mother was called to Heaven ! (Chorus)

(And) when he learned to take food,

His father was called to Heaven. (Chorus)

He has out-grown his infancy, the little Payyo ;

He has gathered wisdom, and he has learned the

arts, Payyo. (Chorus)

(And) he has taken quickly to the writing on

sand. (Chorus).²

1. *I. A. XXIII*, p 32.

2. The original of this folk song is with me. It is sung by the farmers in Banniñje of Udipi. *Payyo* means a child. B. A. S.

And it was over the second crop of the *bailu* land, viz., the *suggi* crop, that there broke out a great quarrel between the two brothers and their rival, Buddyanta, which ended in the death of the latter and the starting of the former on a life of wild adventure. The *suggi* crop is cultivated in the Tulu months of Nirnāl and Bōntel (i. e., October-November). When Kōti made a wide opening in one of the banks, the water flowed out with a rapidity equal to that of rivers during the monsoon. Seeing this, Buddyanta called out his servants and they shut up the opening made by Kōti by means of grass. Kōti then said—"Take care! Buddyanta! The *suggi* crop is the only means of food for the monsoon for you as well as for us! If you have enmity against us, avenge yourself on our persons, and not on the crop that we have cultivated. Let, therefore, the water which is flowing out according to custom, flow out in its proper course."¹

That the Tulu people had also dry lands can be made out from the reply given by the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru to the heroes who requested that a harrow and a pick axe called Rāma and Lacana (Lakṣmaṇa) be given to them. "I have dry lands, sowing sixty *muras* of paddy, banks which burst and walls which fall down. Therefore, I want the harrow and pick axe," said he.² It is evident, therefore, that in early times, the same system of cultivation prevailed which we see today in Tuḷuva.

1. I. A., XXIII. p. 34.

2. Ibid, XXIV. p. 150.

The Pāḍadānas enable us to know something about the produce of a field. After confessing that they had killed Buddyanta, Kōṭi and Cennaya went to the Ballāḷa of Parimale, and requested him to give them a field called Bākimār in which five *seers* of rice could be sown, and 500 *muras* produced, and which lay in front of the Ballāḷa's mansion ¹ When the Ballāḷa, however, replied that the produce of that field was reserved for governmental purposes, the heroes begged him to present them with that paddy field which lay to the south of the *būdu*, and in which three *seers* of rice were sown and 300 *muras* produced.² We can have an idea of the produce of the land also from the parting words of the Ballāḷa of Parimale to Deyi Badiyedī, the mother of the two heroes, who had cured him of a severe pain in the leg. "As you have given me medicine and cured me, I wish to give you a present. I will give you land enough to sow four *muras* of paddy and a house. It will produce one *korji* of rice for you annually."³

How much a field yielded can be gathered by the method of agriculture adopted by the Tuḷu people. They ascertained the time of cultivation with the aid of

1. *I. A.* XXIII. p. 37.

2. *Ibid.* p. 37. In this version it is correctly stated that the two brothers approached the Ballāḷa of Parimale. But in Ms. No. 15 (*I. A.* XXIV, p. 150) the heroes are said to have gone to the Eḍambūru Ballāḷa. This is impossible, since it was the Parimale Ballāḷa who had originally promised to give food and clothing to the twins. (*I. A.* XXIII p. 36). The twin brothers afterwards took shelter under and fought for the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru against his enemies. B. A. S.

3. *I. A.* XXV, p. 308.

the astrologer. The two brothers questioned their rival, Buddyanta, as regards his designation. He was walking in a great haste. "I am going to the hut of the astrologer Bīra Ballya at Matti to ascertain the day for sowing the *kambuḷa*," said Buddyanta.¹ That they knew the value of manuring the fields and of tilling the soil in a proper manner can be seen by the way in which they worked in the fields. Then the heroes went to Erajha, calling the following persons- a servant named Kanaḍa Kattire, a Muggere called Irala Kurave, and Baila Bākuḍa, and ordered them to cut the grass and the sides of the banks of the *kambuḷa*, to heap some soil to be burnt, and to scatter some leaves (over the field). "We know a good week and day in which to begin the cultivation. Now we want to plough with four yokes and to sow in a corner", they said to each other. "We left three months in the middle and began to cultivate the *kambuḷa* in the month of Sōṇa. In the month of Sōṇa we made the servants chop leaves in pieces. We made them plough five times, and harrow nine times. We made them plough in such a way that there was no difference between the soil and water. Buddyanta made his servants plough his fields nine times and not even a blade of grass bent!"²

That the method of ploughing has not materially changed since early times can be made out by the more detailed description given by Buchanan of the

1. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 146.

2. *Ibid.*

:

yenelu crop in Tuluva. "The kinds of rice that are transplanted for the *Yenelu* crop on *Bylu* land are cultivated as follows:—Between the 14th of May and the 14th of June, water the ground intended for raising the seedlings for two days, and then plough it twice, all the water, except two inches in depth, being let off at each ploughing. The two ploughings must be repeated every other day, until the eighth time. The field, before the last ploughing, is manured with ashes, and with dung, in which, while in the cow-house, the leaves of every kind of bush and tree have been mixed. The mud is then smoothed with the *Mutu Pally* or plank drawn by oxen. The seed, prepared by causing it to sprout, is then sown very thick, the water being three inches deep. Next day the water is let off. On the fifth day, when the shoots come up, they get as much water as covers the half next the ground, and every day, as the plants grow, the quantity of water is increased. On the ninth day the water is let entirely off, and is not given again until the eleventh day. If worms affect the plants, about the end of the third week the water is again let off for three days, and some ashes are sprinkled over the field to kill these destructive animals. The seedlings must be transplanted between the 30th and 35th days."¹

For an efficient system of cultivation they wanted some implements over and above the human labour which they could always command. The two heroes

1. Buchanan, *A Journey*, III, p. 38.

proceeded on their way after having a passage-at-arms with the Ballāḷa who had refused to give them what they wanted. "And while they were walking, they resolved to get back from the plough-wright the implements of husbandry, which they had given him to be repaired, and which they used for cultivating the field *anilaja*; namely, the plough made of the tree called *bēdijña*, having a handle made of the tree called *tiruva*, some iron nails, and a yoke made of the tree called *koraj*."¹ And for not receiving promptly from the ploughwright the ploughtail, the plough-share, and the plough-shoe, they punished him with death. These simple and crude implements have survived to our own days. Buchanan says the following as regards the implements while describing a double-ploughing of the *yeṇelu* crop. "The mud is then smoothed with the *Mutu Pally* or plank drawn by oxen. The plough in use here is neater than usual in India but is an implement equally wretched."²

The harrows used in ploughing were usually called *Basarūru pannu kotture*. The wife of Buddyanta, who had just been sent to his account by the two brothers, on seeing the red-coloured water of the stream, remarked that it must have been the water which her husband had spat out when chewing betelnut. "This is not water spat after chewing betelnut but blood," said the servant-maids. When they had passed

1. *J. A.* XXIII, p. 38.

2. Buchanan, *A Journey* III, pp. 38-39.

on a little they saw a harrow (always described as *Basarūru pannu kotture* in the text) dressed up.¹

The different kinds of cultivated lands wanted some kind of irrigational devices by which water could be diverted from a lower to a higher level or from a softer to a harder ground. The Tuḷuvas paid some attention to this necessity, for the Pāḍadānas mention the use of *pikota*, which even the women could handle with ease. The two brothers after defeating the warriors of Savalandāḍka and Nelli, were directed to the house of Palḷi Bannaya. On reaching his house, however, they found that Bannaya was away on some work. His wife received them well but while they sat down to chew betelnut, Cennaya swooned. Kōti then begged the wife of Bannaya to give him a little water "Having heard this, she went inside, took a jug of silver, and went to the seat by the well. She held a *pikota*, which was so high as to reach the sky, let it down and drew pure water from the bottom of the well."² In another place the *pikota* is thus described. Duḡanna Kāver of Ekkār and Timmaṇṇatikārī (Timmanṇa Adikhāri) of Tibēra wandered through the *berke* of Tangōḍi. And while describing their sojourn, the Pāḍadāna relates how "Koḍamaṇṭāya required that both a *gudi* and a palace should be built for him. A *pikota* worked by three hundred men fell in pieces."³

1. *I. A* XXIV, p. 150

2. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

3. *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 92.

Kōti and Cennaya would not have been able to find out their way so easily to the house of Palli Bannaya, had it not been for the cowherd boys of the village of Pañja. This principality of Pañja was a great rival of Eḍumbūru. But unlike Eḍumbūru and some other small states, it paid sufficient attention to the condition of cattle and pasture. "While the younger brother lay with his head on the elder brother's leg, and while the elder brother was searching for the lice, Cennaya saw a company of boys playing together. A thousand cows and a thousand she-buffaloes were feeding on the grass in the plains of Pañja."¹

It was because they had such good pasture grounds that they had an excellent breed of cattle. When Palli Bannaya's wife, Kinnī Dāru, recognized the two youths as her own brothers, she hastily ran into and out from her house, and with some grass in her hand, "called a red-cow that had gone to graze. She drew five *seers* of milk from the cow and boild it down to two *seers*."² Even supposing it was only two *seers* of milk she drew at one time, as another version of the same story informs us, yet it shows a better state of pasture than that which is met with to-day in Tuluva.

That a land with such rich pastures could not but be happy is evident from the present which Sāma Ālva, the privileged toddy-drawer of Parimaḷe, gave his royal master, the Ballāḷa, in return for a reward of twelve

1 I. A. XXIV, p. 211.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

pagodas from his master. Sāma Ālva said, "May I speak one word to my master? If you will not be displeased with me, I will say it." The Ballāla ordered him to say on. Then he said, "O Sir! I wish to give a small present to you. I wish to give you a pair of racing buffaloes."¹ When he heard this, the Ballāla exclaimed in astonishment—"What! a pair of racing buffaloes! Who do you think would wish to give me such a big present? I think that the present which I have given you is a very small one. A landlord may give presents to his tenants. But a tenant will be ruined if he thinks of giving presents to the landlord."²

Cultivation with the Tuluvas depended, as it does now, on a shrewd observation of the seasons. In Tuluva the Śālivāhana Śaka has been in vogue. But the Tuḷu year is luni-solar and is divided into twelve months: *Suggi* (March 15th-April 13th), *Paggu* (April 14th-May 14th), *Bēsa* (May 15th-June 14th), *Kārtel* (June 15th-July 16th), *Āti* (July 17th-August 16th), *Sōna* (August 17th-September 16th), *Nirṇāl* (Kanyā) (Sept. 17th-Oct. 17th), *Bontel* (October 18th-November 16th), *Jārde* (November 17th-Dec. 15th), *Perārde* (December 16th-January 13th), *Puyintēl* (January 14th-February 12th) and *Māyi* (February 13th-March 14th).³ Of these Bēsa and Āti alone are from the Sanskrit language.

The agricultural habits of the people can be made out from some of their felicitous proverbs like the

1-2. *I. A. XXV*, p. 303.

3. Cf. Buchanan, *A Journey*, III, pp. 27-31.

following :—*Kīrte kāyoḍu*, *Rōhini porpoḍu*, *Margasiroḍu muddoḍu*, *Ārda polompoḍu*, *aḍarada kīrada phāḍḍi batta bangāra korōḍāvu*. (The ground must be hot when under the star Krttikā [*Kīrte*]; it must be hotter, to the point of baking, when under the star Rōhinī; the mud must be turned into paste while under the star Mṛgaśīras; and it must be swept away by the heavy rains under Ārdrā. And then only will the corn ploughed with a mere stick yield gold in return !)

3. COMMERCE

The Pāḍadāna of *Bobbariye* gives us a list of articles in which the people traded. The children of Murave Byāri and Fātima, by name Kāyiri, Kalasappa, Genḍa, Bombaya, Sinkiri Suni, Summunī, Ananta, Sarapoḷi and Sūna Jana Nāyaka, said, “ ‘Now let us go and trade in the villages’. They put on their shoulders a vessel holding about one-fourth of a *seer* and a vessel of bell-metal into a bag. ‘We wish to sell a thousand bundles of sugar and coir of cocoanut fibre’, they said. They sold the sugar and the coir. They got a bamboo and a plaited cocoanut leaf from each house. They built a shop of cocoanut leaves on the sea-shore with sixteen partitions of thick bamboos. They put sixteen kinds of goods within the sixteen partitions. The goods were—sago, oil-seed, wheat, Bengal gram, *renke* (a kind of grain), *rāgi*, rice-flour in a basket, red tender cocoanuts, chunam in shells, oil in a wooden vessel, bunches of arecanuts, betel leaves heaped in a basket, toddy in

bottles, clothes, tobacco in matting and sugar. Though they sold them all, they did not recover the cost of their arecanuts and living.” In the same Pāḍadāna, we are informed that these children of Murave Byāri, after sailing for a year and six months, “produced gold, pearls, rubies, diamonds and carbuncles”.¹

It may be remarked that this story of Bobbariye deals with Māpillas and not Tuḷuvas. But we may bear in mind that the Arabs, who had opened their trading stations on the coast of Malabar proper, seem to have come to Tuluva as well in early mediaeval times. And the Māpillas mentioned in this Pāḍadāna are the Tuluva Māpillas i.e., descendants of Arab fathers and Tuḷuva mothers. This can be made out from the names of the children of Murave Byāri and Fātima.

From this and other Pāḍadānas we can gather some details concerning the trading centres of those days. Thus in the Pāḍadāna on *Bobbariye*, the following is said — “The original home of Bobbariye was an island. He was born at Goa and grew up at Cochin. His mother was Fātima and his father was Murave Byāri of Sulikal”.² In the above passage the names of Goa and Cochin are mentioned. The name Ejanagara (Vijayanagara) continually appears in the Pāḍadānas as the place from where the Tuḷuva Ballāla used to get the fashionable and privileged barber. King Dharma “born on a heap of *mallige* flowers, piled up as high as a man’s

1 *I. A.* XXV, pp. 239-40.

2 *Ibid.* p. 239.

neck, and on a heap of *sampige* flowers piled up as high as a man's middle," while in his great palace called Kañcikaḍaṅga in the regions of Lower and Upper Kañci, saw that the time had come for him to get himself shaved. " 'Who can shave me?' asked king Dharma. 'On the other side of Ejanagara on the Ghats there is a barber called Binnadī Kāra,' said his servants".¹

The Pāḍadānas also speak of Surat as the place from where the people got tobacco. Kōṭi and Cennaya after killing the impertinent washerman, who had compared them to crabs, washed themselves, and "sat down by the foot of an *aśvattha* tree, and having sat down, they undid a small bag containing betel leaves; arecanut, and the like, and chewed pieces of arecanut and *pancōli* betel-leaves. They ate white lime and Surat tobacco".² A version of the *Pañjurli* Pāḍadāna mentions the names of Mecca and Cannanore. The four sons of Guru Sarapolī and his wife Gollarāma Dēyar took to the sea, and coming to the sea-shore they asked the sailors—"Can we go to Mecca or to Macao, or to the Island, or to Cochin, or to Cannanore?"³ The *bhūta* in the same Pāḍadāna is described as going to "the temple of Venkataramana at Tīrupatī where he did not cease to cause the *Garuḍā-vāhana* to turn round."⁴ In addition to these details the mention of costly shawls, wheat, sugar, and the like, together with rubies and such other precious stones, which never seem to

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 97.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

3-4. *Ibid.*, XXV, pp. 272, 274.

have been manufactured or mined in Tuluva, lead us to suppose that the people must have got them from places outside the district.

In Tuluva itself, however, there were some well known manufacturing centres. Very many of the articles, as, for example, chunam, cocoanut fibre, etc., have been the sole monopoly of the fisher-folk like the Mogers, and the Māpillas of the coast. We may note the names of a few cloth manufacturing centres of Tuluva. King Dharma after finishing his toilet at the hands of the barber, Binnaḍi Kāra of Ejanagara, asked his followers to tell him the remedy for having touched the barber. They advised him to take an oil bath in a tank which was constructed for the purpose;¹ and when he had finished it, his servants asked their royal master from where they could get the silken clothes with which they could wipe off the water from his head. "A black silken cloth manufactured at Kāvūru, a white silken one made at Bōḷūru, a silken cloth called *soṇu kambaḷi*, a silken cloth made at Iravadūru, a silken cloth of which one piece could stretch to three hundred *gāvuda*s,² a silken one which can be soaked with a tear, and a silken cloth which can be hidden between the nail and the finger, are required," said the king. All the silken clothes were brought and the king dried his head with them.³

1. *I. A.*, p. 114; *ibid*, XXIII, p. 98.

2. 1 *gāvuda* = 12 miles.

3. *I. A.*, XXIII, p. 98.

Kāvūru, Bōļūru and Iravadūru (near Perđūru), were in those times centres of cloth manufacture. Bōļūru has still some families of traditional weavers. If the Pāḍadānas can be believed, Kāvūru and Bōļūru seem to have been well known for their silk cloth. They are often mentioned in the Pāḍadānas as places where silk cloth was manufactured. The Ballāḷa of Parimale “reared the children (Kōṭṭi and Cennaya), supplying them with food, a *mura* of rice, and a piece of thick *pachade* cloth, and a *mandiri*. He also presented them with a white silk cloth from Bōļūru, a black silk cloth from Kāļūru (Kāvūru), and a girdle too.”¹

How they built ships and traded can be gathered from the Pāḍadāna of *Bobbariye*. The children of Murave Byāri and Fātima realizing that their trade in the interior was a failure, resolved to embark upon a voyage. “ ‘We have not put on fine hanging cloth or even a *munḍu* (a small coarse cloth). We have not collected fifty or hundred pagodas in a year. Therefore, we must go and trade in a ship. So let us sell our small she-buffalo worth seven pagodas,’ said they. And they sold the she-buffalo. They put three pagodas in their waist-cloths, and five pagodas in a bag. Fishermen of seven houses and Byāris (Māpiḷḷas) of seven houses were collected together, and (they) went to Periyer Kaḍañjar. They visited Brahmā and folded their hands. ‘Byāris ! Are you in your caste or ejected ?’ asked the villagers. ‘We are in our caste, not ejected’,

1. *I. A.*, p. 142.

said they. 'If you are in your caste, you may come into the temple-yard and touch the door, and tell us what you want,' said the village people. 'We have heard that there are trees fit to build ships within the village of Brahmā,' said they, and put the money which they had taken on a silver plate. The Brahmā *bhūta*, pleased with the money, became proud, and his head was turned. 'You had better examine the trees from the lower to the upper forest,' (said he). They saw a fine *ponne* tree and a *siruva* tree, and a *berpaloyi* tree, for the keel of the ship, and a teak tree fit for the planks. They called a carpenter, and brought some black and rough rice with some white *tumbe* flowers and sprinkled them over the trees. In this way they sprinkled them twice. They made a cut as large as a horse in a tree of the size of an elephant. They cut down the trees. Then they began to cut another tree but could not cut from it a piece as small as a *sāra* or as large as a rupee. They called Nāḍubalaya and asked him to refer to the *prāsana* book on a black plank made out of a *kadre* tree with white couches. It was found that they would succeed, if a *puñjapatta* (small building) was built in twelve *māganes* (villages), where the cocks crow, and if a roof was built over Brahmā and his post. 'If Puñja is the *bhūtu* for the *patta* for the thousand people in the twelve villages, he must ride in a palanquin at full speed and must cry out thrice. If he does this, we will present him with a beak made of gold, wings of pearl and legs

of silver, and over Brahmā we will build a roof,' said they. The *bhūta* cried thrice from the palanquin. Then they presented a beak of gold, a feather of pearls, and of silver and built a roof for Brahmā.

"They cut down trees and made them into logs by measure. They cut off the top of a tree for the mast of the ship, and the trunk of a tree for the ship. They made holes in the trees and tied ropes and strong creepers to them and drew forth the trees. They dragged them from the forest. They passed by a stone of Kal-kuda and a place called Paḷita Palke. They came to the ferry of Paḷli," and passing a number of places, "came to Ponnedongaḍi and Povulḷanāḍ. They dragged the trees to the higher ground at the junction of the rivers. They sent for Mallenadecchava and made him build a ship. They made seven decks in the ship, an office for business, holds for *keru* and *haruve* planks, a well, a cow-stall, a room for children and women, boxes for pearls, gems, diamonds, and carbuncles, and also for rice and paddy. In this way they built the ship and finished the whole work. 'Now the necessary things of the ship are required. The old fishermen, Anantaṇṇa Marakala, Bobbariye Kunniyāle, and Kendi Dēvu, must come too, and the fishermen must be told what we want for the ship,' said they. 'Do you buy for five thousand pagodas a silken sail, a mast of coral, an anchor of pearls, nails of wax, fish-oil, goats, sheep, toddy and other liquors,' said the fishermen. They drew up the ship on the sea-shore. They filled it with

rice and paddy from all the villages. They fastened the ropes and made straight a small mast. They said the wind was coming, and raised the silken sail''¹

The description of a vessel given in the above long passage may be taken to be a fair example of a Tuluva ship. The method of getting together the neighbouring fisherfolk and Māpiḷḷas, and the remarkable spirit of good-will revealed in the above Pāḍadāna on the occasion of the building of a ship still prevails in Tuluva today.

In addition to work in chunam, sugar, cocoanut coir, and ship-building, the Tuḷuvas had recourse to another industry. This was the manufacture of and trade in liquor. On reaching the house of Payya Baidya, that lay between the rival principalities of Pañja and Eḍambūru, Kōṭi and Cennaya called loudly Payya by name three times. His wife answered only for the second call, and coming out for the third, said, "He is not present. He is gone to draw toddy from the *kadamba* and date trees in the forest called Sanka (Sanka *male*) in the east''² This is the same tree which has become memorable in history because of its connection with the origin of the Kadambas of Banavase. It is called in Tulu *indada mara* and *baini*.

We may note here something about the tapping of palmyras. Sāma Āḷva, the rescuer of the Jōti Brahman girl, was a typical Tuḷuva palm-climber. In Tuḷuva

1. I. A. XXV, pp. 239-241.

2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 42.

palm-climbers go early in the morning to the large palm-tree gardens, with a curved bill-hook, a dry gourd and a climbing rope twisted into a ring which they place round their ankles which are protected by small pieces of leather, and begin tapping the tender coconut shoots with a polished stone. Sāma Ālva went in a like-manner to the forest of the Parimale Ballāḷa. "On a certain day he went to the forest as usual, and tied the camel to a tree; and with his knife and dry gourd he climbed a palm-tree and took the pot containing the juice and passed it into his gourd."¹ The work of tapping is generally over late in the afternoon, although in some towns the tappers usually climb the cocoanut trees in the evening. In an earlier section it has already been noted how important this industry was to the establishment of the Ballāḷa.

Another industry in which the Tuḷuvas were, as they are, proficient was masonry. The statue of Gomata at Kārkala, the Jaina bastis of Mūḍubidri and the temples of Kollūru and Kadri, to mention only a few, are examples of the architectural skill of the people. The Pāḍadāna of *Kalkuḍa* is a panegyric on the architectural ability of the Tuḷuvas.

No mention of the industries of Tuḷuva can be complete without an account of the manufacture of hats and umbrellas. The heavy rains of Tuḷuva necessitate the manufacture of hats and umbrellas of

1. I. A. XXV, p. 295.

palmyra leaves. These are the *muṭtales*, the *korambus*, and the *panoli tatras* of Tuḷuva. Sambu Kalkuḍa, the father of the architect of the Gomāṭa statue of Kārkala, on receiving message after message from the kings of Bēlūre and Belgoḷa, at last determind to go on a journey. He however first supplied his pregnant wife with all the necessary articles of food, and then "he put the thread on his shoulder to let the people know his caste, and held up an umbrella."¹

As equally curious commodity of Tuḷuva is a covering for the head which is called in Tulu' *muttale*. These coverings are manufactured out of dried areca-nut bark (*pāle*, *hāḷe*) and are shaped like a boat measuring six to ten inches in length and three to four inches in breadth. When worn on the head they reach from just over the forehead to the back of the head. Each community has got a hat of its own, there is the *Vokkeligerena kannita nēru* with its *perāvukombu* (i.e., twist in the back), a very small article costing at present four annas, the *Mānyere kannita* with its *edūru kombu* (i.e., twist in front) costing as much, *Kaipuḍerena tippimuttale* or the *aḍḍamuṭṭale* (i.e., worn crosswise over the head) costing two annas, and the *nēri muttale* (or the straight covering) of the Koragars which costs only one anna. The first one is worn by the Buṇṭs; the second by the Holeyas in general, and the third is the special head covering worn by a sect of the Holeyas called the Kaipuḍes.²

1. I. A. XXV, p. 221

2. See *infra* Section 4.

The Tuluvās, on the whole, paid in corn and other necessities of life for commodities which they bought, or as wages for work turned out by the labourers. They of course knew the use of money. We have already seen how the children of Murave Byāri sold their she-buffalo for eight pagodas, and how, in the same story, the *bhūta* Brahmā, on seeing money, joyously permitted the Byāris to cut trees from his forest. The custom in Tuḷuva has been to pay for work done in terms of the commodities required in the daily conduct of life. The Ballāla of Parimale lay in agony. A thorn had caused him severe pain. "Who else can give me medicine?", asked the Parimale Ballāla, when all the physicians of Parimale had failed to cure him of his illness. The name of Dēyi Baidyedi was next proposed and the Ballāla at once sent his servants with a letter requesting her to come to his *būḍu*. To the man who gave her this letter, Dēyi Baidyedi said—"You, the bearer of the letter, had better take rice for your hire in Erajha." She brought a *seer* of rice, a cocoanut and two cucumbers, and gave them to the bearer. "If you want to cook and take your good here, there is the hut for travellers built by my brother. If you want to prepare your meal here, I can get pots made of bell-metal. If you are going away immediately, Oh, my master, you may go." said she¹. This is how they paid wages for running on an errand.

1. I. A XXIV, p, 119.

The Ballāla of Mardāl, who intended to propitiate the *bhūta* Pañjurli, got together carpenters and workmen in order to build a *sthāna*. To pitch upon a place, he had, as we have already seen, to go and consult the Brahman astrologer. "The next day, being Friday, when the sun arose and came above the horizon to about a man's height, carpenters came to the Ballāla with their axes, ready to fell trees, and stood before him with clasped hands. Then the Ballāla said to them—'O Carpenters ! Are you come ? Sit down in the verandah, I will come shortly.' So saying he ordered a big pot to be filled with water, and taking the water and four *seers* of jaggery and four sugar-canes, and twenty tender cocoanuts with him, the Ballāla called the carpenters to him and went with them to the forest ; and seeing good trees asked the carpenters and got them felled at their suggestion. After the trees were felled, the Ballāla and the carpenters being exposed to the hot sun became thirsty, and felt as if saffron powder had been put into their eyes, and began to breathe hard. Then the Ballāla gave to each carpenter one tender coconut and one pot of water and a quarter *seer* of jaggery."

When they had thus refreshed themselves, they again fell to their work, and before the sun went down, got ready planks and posts for the sawyers who were to come on the next day. "In the meantime", the story continues, "the sun set and it became dark. Then all of them went out of the forest and took their way home.

After they (had) reached the *būḍa*, the Ballāla gave to the carpenters their *batta* which consisted of rice, cocoanuts, salt, tamarind, chillies, curry-stuff, and onions, and everything else they needed, and ordered them to come earlier on the next day, and sent them away.”¹ And afterwards “the sawyers were called and the work was given on contract And they were told to do the work quickly and finish it in fifteen days.”²

Those who carried loads on their heads were paid in the following manner. The Ballāla of Parimaḷe sent Dēyi Baidyedi home loaded with presents. “While they were yet far off, Sāma Ālva’s sister recognized her son and daughter-in-law and called her sons and said—‘Look at Dēyi Baidyedi!’ When she went from among us, she went alone. Now, when returning many bearers with infants, cradle, and cow and calf, are accompanying her!’ ‘Yes,’ said they, ‘fortune is smiling upon us’. So saying they came to meet Dēyi Baidyedi. Afterwards Dēyi Baidyedi told her husband to go to the garden and fetch large young cocoanuts to distribute them among the coolies who had brought the cradle, and when he had brought them, she gave two to each cooly, and said—‘You must be tired with bringing my loads in the hot sun. You must be very thirsty; therefore, drink of these tender cocoanuts.’” Afterwards she brought rice and gave them rice at

1. I. A. XXVI, pp. 62-63.

2. *Ibid*, p. 65.

the rate of half a *seer* to each man, and gave them curry-stuff and everything necessary to prepare their food.¹

The same wages were given by a land-lord to his tenants working in the fields. Kōti and Cennaya wanted to have their *kambḷa* field ploughed. Kōti called together his tenants and finished his work. The charitable heroes gave to every one of the tenants, who had ploughed with the buffaloes, three *seers* of rice, and a leaf full of boiled rice. They presented all the villagers with oil to rub on themselves.²

The wages given by a royal personage differed not much in nature from those given by a Ballāḷa or by a Billavar housewife. Sambu Kalkuḍa, whose history we know to some extent, reached the palace of the king of Belgola. The king ordered him to do fine work, "such as a *basti* with a thousand pillars, and with one hundred and twenty images. Seven temples with seven idols; a small temple inside and a garden outside, an elephant in the outer yard, and also a large idol called Gummata. Work such that only one door was opened, when a thousand doors were shut, and that the thousand doors were opened when a single door was shut; a building for dancing and another for dancing-girls, and also others for lodging; an elephant that seemed to be running, a fine horse and a lion." For one year and six months Sambu Kalkuḍa worked in stone. He won

1. *I A.* XXV, pp. 308-309.

2. *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 148.

universal praise from all. Then he thought of going home. He therefore went to the Ballāḷa, and said thus—“It is a year and six months since I came: I must go to my native country. I came alone leaving alone a fully pregnant woman. Therefore I beg leave.” The Ballāḷa presented him with a cot, a chair to sit on, five torches for light, a stick to walk with, cloths up to the shoulders, and betel leaves to fill his mouth.¹

4. DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The Pāḍadānas give picturesque details concerning dress worn by the Tuḷu people. Aḍūra Dēre Baidya desired to witness a famous cock-fight. With this intent he had four to eight cocks fed. Then he gave an early dinner to his nephews, and after dinner dressed himself after the Tuḷuva fashion. He tied a red turban on his head, and put his best slippers on his feet. He held a palm-leaf umbrella in his hand. “He put his best fighting-cocks into his nephew’s hands. A number of spurs for the cocks he held in his own hands.”²

In Tuḷuva men seem to have worn a silver belt round their waist. The house where Dēyī Baidyedī was laid up for confinement belonged to one Birmaṇṇa, “a tenant of some dry land. He took off his waist belt of silver and placed it for her to hold on to.”³ And children seem to have worn some kind of trousers and

1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 221, 222

2. *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 19.

3. *Ibid.*, XXIV. p. 141.

coats. On the death of Dēyi Baidyedi at the hands of her rival physician, Birmaṇṇa Baidya, according to one version of the story, the Ballāḷa handed over the little twins to the charge of their uncle Sāyana Baidya. The children grew up into little boys, and one day " they saw Buddyanta's children playing with cashew nuts, and when they saw this, they went to Sāyana Baidya and asked him to give them some cashew nuts, and also implements for the game. He gave them trousers and coats, and had a horn blown in their honour."¹

The rivalry that began on the play-ground lasted till the end of their lives. Buddyanta and his children could never tolerate the rising of Kōṭi and Cennaya to fame and power. Once while playing with cashew nuts and berries, Buddyanta's wife snatched away the berries from the hands of the twin brothers and beat them. They went crying to their uncle Sāyana Baidya. " Oh ! Uncle ! Buddyanta's wife took away our berries by force and beat us," said Cennaya. " You did not listen to my advice," said Sāyana. " As she took the berries by force, they belong to her now ; but Uncle Sāyana, where is that which the Ballāḷa presented to our mother?" asked Kōṭi and Cennaya. They were, of course, referring to the grant of land made by the Ballāḷa.² Their uncle told them that there were two divisions of a *kambaḷa* at Handioṭṭibail, and that to get further information, they had to go and see the Ballāḷa person-

1. *I. A*, XXIII, p. 29.

2. *Ibid*, XXIV, pp. 120, 150.

ally. "The Ballāḷa has got his face shaved and looks well, there is hair on our faces. We will not go as we are to see such a handsome face," said they. "Children, take *pancoli* betel leaves from a vine on an arecanut tree and *mundoḷi* from a vine on a mango tree. Dress yourselves with *kāyeri karpoli* clothes, put these betel leaves into a cloth and go to the *būḍu*," said their uncle.¹ On presenting oneself before such an august personage like the Ballāḷa one had, therefore, to use a special dress.

An ordinary man, however, wore simpler dress. To him the singular Tuḷuva head-covering made from an arecanut bark, sandals for the legs, and a cloth round the waist, with a small shawl thrown across the shoulders was enough to ward off the roughest weather. The *bhūta* Bobbariye wanted a large *sthāna* at Mūlūru, and so he went there. He wanted to make himself known to the people which he did by digging a well called Māyadanga with the help of a thousand coolies. He disappeared in it but not before an unfortunate Pongaḍa had seen him. Bobbariye took a promise from the Pongaḍa that the latter would not inform any one of the former's disappearance. But the Pongaḍa broke his word and Bobbariye punished him by sinking "him in a lotus tank for seven nights and eight days. Then the family of the Pongaḍa searched for him and called aloud, and collected a hundred people of Mūḷūru. All of them together prayed for him." Then the areca-

1. I. A. XXIV, pp. 120, 150.

leaf head-covering was found in a lotus tank, and they saw the marks of his feet descending into it but not ascending.¹

The arecanut head-covering was a special feature of the Tuḷuva dress. The richest as well as the poorest wore it. "Śāyana Baidya went to the Ballāḷa, who was sitting in his hall with great enjoyment. He had a hat of arecanut shell ornamented with a crest of peacock's plumes. On his head were garlands of jassmine flowers and of the flowers called *ketaki*."² In the Pāḍadānas the Ballāḷa is always represented, while in state, to have worn the jassmine flowers and an arecanut spathe on his head.

Warriors too wore this arecanut head-dress. After passing a happy time at the *būḍu* of the Ballāḷa, Kōṭi and Cennaya thought of going out to play. The Ballāḷa of Parimale encouraged them in this, and their uncle Śāyana Baidya being sent for, they were taken back to their native place called Erajha. So Śāyana took them to Erajha. When he left the *būḍu* it was known to Ellūr Abbe of the Cāvaḍi, and as the children were leaving the *būḍu*, Ellūr Abbe saw them. She took off her *padumarekke* girdle of silver and presented it to them. "She brought a hat of parrot-colour for Kōṭi Baidya, and a hat of the colour of the *padu* bird (pigeon) for Cennaya. She had them dressed in these, and presented them by her own hand with a dagger called *Rāma kenguḍe*."³

1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 241

2. *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 32.

3. *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 142.

Warriors besides carrying swords by their side, putting marks of sandal paste, and dressing themselves in silken robes from Kāvūru, used to wear ear-ornaments too. Cennaya and Kōṭi before going to battle put on marks of sandal paste, and opened the box and took a black silken cloth from Kāvūru, and a signet ring from a curved box, and put it on. They put jewels in their ears and a thick cloth on their shoulders.¹ With very poor people, however, the arecanut head wear serves a double purpose : as a protection for the head and as a cup wherewith to drink water.

The Pāḍadānas also contain notices of the dress of women. In the contemptuous letter written by the Ballāla of Pañja to his rival the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru, the former said how the latter being a weakling in the charge of the two heroes, Kōṭi and Cennaya, who had killed the great wild hog, was only fit to dress himself in the robes of a woman when the day of battle would come. The Ballāḷa of Pañja wanted the Ballāla of Eḍambūru to send him the two brothers thus—"When you send them, let them stand up to fight. When they stand up, let the Ballāla leave off male customs and let him dress as a female ; let him put two cocoanut shells for his breasts ; let him put on a small jacket, let him tie his hair into a knot, let him put collyrium on his eyes ; let him put a *sirā* (*sārī*) round his middle, let him be dressed with flowers." Thus ran the letter.²

1. I. A. XXIV, p. 270.

2. *Ibid.*

As regards the jewels worn by the women of Tuluva, we have their specimens in the description given of Kalkuḍa's sister Karlutti who, desirous of seeing her brother's face after twelve long years, started from Kellata Mārṇāḍ, her native place, to the north in search of him. She prepared a meal for her brother, "tied it in a leaf, and combed her hair, putting a chaplet of pearls on her head. She put jewels on her neck and in her ears; jewels called *vate* and *koppu*; coloured garlands, copper rings; jewels called *calaki* on her hands; silver rings called *pulli-menti* on her toes. She put collyrium on her eyes and a mark on forehead. She tied round her waist a black cloth and she put on a green jacket. With all these things did she dress herself."¹

5 WAR

To the Tuluva women must be attributed in some measure the spirit of struggle which characterized the Tuḷuvas of early and mediaeval times. When the Ballāḷa of Parimale had sent for Dēyi Baidyedi, she was in a very precarious condition. "On leaving the Ballāḷa's house (Dēyi) walked by the sides of the paddy fields and began to feel the pangs of child-birth, little by little. She stood on the road, clasping a cocoanut tree bearing fruit of a red colour and dropped tears. At this time one Buddyanta came up, and on coming up he said 'Oh my mother! O Billavar girl! Is it the

1. *I. A.*, XXV, p. 224.

overflow of blood in your veins? Or is it the pride of wealth (that makes you stand thus)?' Dēyi replied— 'If I have done this out of pride, I shall suffer hardship. If out of trouble, the children that shall be born of me will relieve me of it.'¹ And a heavy penalty did the poor wiseacre, Buddyanta, pay, indeed, for his insolence. Dēyi Baidyedi's twins, the redoubtable Kōṭi and Cennaya, as we have already seen, twisted his neck and placed his dead body to guard over his own fields. And the woman whom Buddyanta had taunted was no other than that Jōṭi Brahman girl whom Sāma Āḷva had rescued in the great forest of Parimale. Life in a Billavar household had, indeed, made her a proud Billavar woman.

In the Pādadānas some warlike people are mentioned. Thus the kind-hearted Brahman astrologer, as we have already seen, had warned Kōṭi and Cennaya that they would have to fight against certain people in the *koppu*, in the *vōni*, and on the plains. These were the Bākuḍers, the Koragars, and the Mogers.² They will figure again presently.

But heroes like Kōṭi and Cennaya carried other weapons too along with them. Before going to fight against the Ballāḷa of Pañja, they took a little rice-water and made preparations for going out to battle with all the weapons of war. "They each put on a necklace on his body; they ornamented their waists

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 29.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 41, *op. cit.*

with girdles, they put golden necklaces on their bodies, they tied turbans of the colour of parrots and pigeons on their heads; they mounted a palanquin; they armed themselves with their dagger, equal to that of Rāma's."¹

Armed thus they went to their protector, the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru, who, in order to test them, asked them whether they were men who could save his kingdom or bring ruin upon it. "In the upper-storey of your mansion there is a *mura* of sessamum seed. Please order that to be given to us," said the brothers in reply. The Ballāḷa ordered his servants to hand over the *mura* to the heroes. "The elder brother, Kōṭi, then showed the dexterity of his hand; when he had showed it, the seeds flew up in the air in powder as fine as red turmeric. Then the Ballāḷa said—'I have thus seen your skill, now I want to see the skill of your brother, Cennaya.' 'O my lord,' said Cennaya, 'your swinging cot has four iron chains. Please order one of them to be given to me.' 'Can iron be cut by a weapon of iron?' said the Ballāḷa. 'If iron cannot be cut by iron, will one man be able to slay another?' said Cennaya. 'If this be so, will the chain be refused to you?' said the Ballāḷa. And he ordered one of the chains to be given to Cennaya. When the latter showed his skill, all the four chains fell in pieces."² It is heroes of this type that the Tuluva people remember with pride and admiration.

1. I. A. XXIII, p. 88.

2. Ibid.

Besides swords and arrows, the Pāḍadānas also mention guns. The reference to guns, however, is of a more recent date. But there seem to have been some people, who are supposed to be traditional manufacturers of gunpowder. The gun is mentioned in the Pāḍadāna *Kōṭi Cennaya*. On the way through the great forest of Kemmule, a Brahmana priest demurred to offer *pūjā* on their behalf to the god. 'You had better see us perform a *pūjā* with an upright heart!', said the heroes, and stood with bent heads on a flat stone and prayed. "Let a drum be tied to an arecanut tree and another drum hung on an areca-tree, and let all the musical instruments be heard! Let the sound of a horn and of a gun be heard! Let a torch that has been extinguished burn again! Let a golden plate be placed at the door!" The Brahmā *bhūta* heard their prayer and all men and women trembled.¹

The Tuluvas had also war-drums. We gather this from the words of the Brahman astrologer who, as already noted, foretold the career of the two heroes. After informing them that they would meet with certain people, he continued—"Kemēr Ballāḷa of the village named Pañja keeps a watchful guard. Therefore, be very cautious on your way. If you think that what I say is false, on your way to Nelliñje, you will see white stone berries and Kōṭi Baidya's palanquin, and hear the sound of the war-drum."²

1. I. A. XXIV, p. 243.

2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 41.

Some idea of a Tuḷuva fort can be gathered from the following words of the nephew of the Ballāḷa of Parimale who, when told about the angry departure of the two brothers Kōṭi and Cennaya, because of their not having received a courteous treatment at the hands of their patron, remarked thus to his uncle : “ They should not be left unpursued, in their own land. We must construct a fort on the paddy field called *koḷala* and must give them battle.”¹

The Tuluvas gave a good account of themselves on a battle field. In the final struggle between Edambūru and Pañja a battle scene is thus described—“ Then the five hundred men of Eḍambūru and three hundred men of Kolapāḍi, together with the Ballāḷa’s son-in-law Rukku Ballāḷa, who rode on a white horse, and held a white umbrella, went forth to the battle-field. The battle was to be fought in two fields : one in which seven *seers* of rice and the other in which seventy *seers* of rice, could be sown. And Cennaya was to command the field of seven *seers*. The Ballāḷa’s son-in-law, Rukku Ballāḷa, stood at a place which was separated from the battle-field by three rice-fields, in each of which thirty *seers* of rice could be sown. Before going to the battle, Cennaya said to Kōṭi, ‘ When, my brother, shall we again see each other’s face ? ’ They talked a great deal to each other and clapped their hands on their shoulders with joy. Then they advanced with their faces towards the battle-field. Cennaya went to

1. I. A., XXIII, p. 38.

the field of seven *seers*, and Kōti to the field of seventy *seers*.

“ Cennaya began the battle in the field of seven *seers*. He slew a great number of the enemy, who fell down dead, like bundles of *suggi* crop; and completely routed the enemy and thus ended the battle in that quarter. Then he came to the field of seventy *seers*, where the battle lasted seven nights and eight days, during which they tasted neither food nor drink. ‘Come back, my brother, I will proceed with the battle’, said Cennaya. Kōti answered—‘O my brother, listen to me. You will not be able to stand the attack of the enemy. Wheel-fireworks are showered on our heads; quoits are hurled at our necks; our breasts receive sword cuts; and from behind are discharged showers of arrows. I know that it is your habit to do everything with the greatest circumspection, fight with the greatest caution’.

“ While Cennaya was bravely fighting, Kōti sat down to chew betel, when Candagiḍi shot an arrow at him from behind. The arrow struck him in the lower part of the leg. He cried out—‘O my brother! the cur of Pañja has bitten me from behind. If it had been a dog of high breed, it would have met me in front. Therefore, I will not look at the arrow with my eyes, and I will not touch it with my hands’. So saying he kicked the arrow back with his leg. The arrow struck Candagiḍi in the breast and he fled from his body to Kailāsa, and he was then borne to the Ballāḍa’s

verandah. The Ballāla sent a man to bring some medicine from a physician named Barma, living in the village of Sañje Mañje. Kōti cut the whole of the enemy to pieces and brought the battle to an end.¹

The Tuluvas had some signs of surrender in times of war. When the two brothers went to Nelliñje, always expecting the enemy, who, directed by their rival, the Ballāla of Pañja, lay in ambush on the road, they saw a bunch of stone-berries. Cennaya took one of the berries and threw it up, and held his dagger directly under it, and passed the dagger through the berry. The berry as it fell was reduced to powder as fine as red turmeric. The people saw this wonderful feat, and said "If the younger brother can show so much of dexterity, how much more will the elder brother be able to show? All our ability and skill would be as nothing in comparison to theirs. If we obey our master's order, half of us shall lose our lives". Thus spoke the Bākuders of the plain, the Koragars, and the Mogers, who took to their heels. When the Mogers, however, who carried bows, and who "held each a blade of grass in his hand", fell prostrate before the brothers, crying for protection, the heroes pardoned them. The brothers "poured water on the hands of the suppliants, saying—"Be you our bond-slaves," and the brothers blessed them by touching their hands with the points of their daggers and gave them some rupees.²

1. *I. A. XXIII*, p. 89.

2. *Ibid*, p. 41, *op. cit.*

shoulders, as given in the Pāḍadānas, was a sort of a hammock called in Tuḷu *mañcil*. Kōti and Cennaya after having finished their toilet at the hands of the expert barber from the Ghats, “next got into a palanquin of the colour of parrots, and each of them tied to the waist a dagger like that of Rāma”.¹ They were on their way to the Ballāla’s palace. The *mañcil* was carried by the Bōyis on their shoulders.

Ferry-owners were people of some consequence in early times. They were called *kartus*, and they controlled large villages and sometimes even a town. The Pāḍadāna of *Jārantāya* has the following—“One Tuesday at noon, the hero Jārantāya came to the Atrēl ferry, riding on a white horse and holding a white umbrella. He ordered the ferryman, Kanya, to bring the ferry boat. The ferryman replied. ‘The boat does not belong to me. I am not to get my fare; the boat has been kept by one Bermane (Brāhmana) Kōte Baler for crossing the river on Tuesdays and Sundays!’” Thus did Jārantāya get into the boat in which he murdered the boatman.²

It is evident, therefore, that the Tulu people had definite days for ferrying persons across rivers. The Pāḍadāna of *Koḍadabbu* confirms our surmise about the ferry-owners. When Kaccūru Māldi, the mother of Koḍadabbu, crossed a place called Baḍaberamuni, and

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 82.

2. *Ibid.* p. 91.

visited god Maheśvara in Bārakūru, she came to the ferry of Bārakūru. Seeing no boats in the river, she cried—"Why is it you have not got boats tied in a pair and ready, O ye men!" When the boatmen heard these words, they sent for the captain of the boats called Tambu Marakala.¹

Kartas or ferry-owners are often mentioned in the Pāḍadāna of *Kanapāḍitāya*. A younger brother and an elder brother having had some difference of opinion with each other, at last thought of going to the *kartu* or ferry-owner of Mangalore. Riding on white horses and having white umbrellas over their heads, "they passed the *barke* of Pañjipāḍi and ascended the hill called Aḍḍadanda. They came to a place named Sararsīme in the village of Mogernāḍ. They came to Payyayyi of Pānemoger, and passed the pleasure garden in Baṇṭa-vāḷa. They passed a banyan tree on the bank of the river at Aindalpatta in the village of Ambadādi. They passed the spot Pilipaṇjar and Ulavattu in Tumbe. They passed the temple of Varadeśvara and the *guḍicāvaḍi* at Mañjabīdu. They passed the tank called Gujjarakedu (and) arrived at last at Mangalore." And the *kartu* (master) of Mangalore saw them and questioned them why they were travelling southwards. And the brothers said that they had quarrelled with one another, and that one of them was going to a country where his eyes could not see and his ears could not hear.²

1. *Kodadabhu*, op. cit

2. *I. A.* XXIII, pp. 92-93.

The rivers had sometimes bridges of ropes built over them. On their way to Edambūru, Kōṭi and Cennaya led by Cennaya of Edambūru, approached the *guḍi* of the *bhūta* Brahmarā. The very name of the *bhūta* caused terror in the heart of Cennaya of Edambūru who, imagining the heroes to be as great cowards as himself, warned them not to proceed further but to sit under a trunkless *śānti* tree. “ They crossed a bridge of ropes and reached the place and came to the yard of the *guḍi* ” of the *bhūta* Brahmarā.¹

These *bhūtas* protected the people against thieves. It is interesting to observe that the mention of robbers occurs only once or twice in the *Pāḍadānas*. This is how the *bhūta* Pilicāmundi was introduced in the village of Tumble. “ A man named Mañju Pañja obtained a piece of land called Tumblejalajanana, and cultivated one crop on it. Depredations committed by thieves became very great, till not even a single tender coconut remained on the cocoanut trees. The paddy stored in the yards did not remain and there was no paddy in the rice-fields. Mañju Pañja told his eldest daughter that he would introduce a *bhūta* that would be able to put all the thieves to death, and that he would go to the kingdom of Bāloḷi.” He thence went to the kingdom of Bāloḷi, and requested the Ballāḷa to come to his aid. “ What *bhūta* shall I give you ? ” said the Ballāḷa. “ There is the *bhūta* Pilicāmundi worshipped by you.

Give him to me ”, said Mañju Pañja, and he give three hundred pagodas to the treasury of the Ballāḷa.¹

But nowhere else in the Pāḍadānas did the tenants of the Ballāḷas buy a *bhūta* at such a high price. For, as will be narrated hereafter, the Ballāḷas of Tuḷuva were capable of maintaining peace in the land. This is best seen in the story of the wanderings of Karlutti. She, as we have seen, desired to meet her brother, the famous architect, once again after a long absence. While the brother was working at Yēnūru (Vēnūru), his sister, who thought that he was away on the Ghats, said to herself at Kallata Mārṇād, her native place—“Twelve years have passed since my brother went away, and since then I have not seen my brother with my eyes, and I have not heard of my brother with my ears. My arms ache for want of clasping him. My eyes are weak from not seeing him. I will go and search for my brother. I will find him wherever he may be.”²

Then taking with her some food for herself as well as for her brother, “She started and met with a good omen. She passed by a water course at Atka (Aḍka) and went to Bēlūr. When the people of Bēlūr told her that her brother had gone to Belgoḷa, she went to Belgoḷa, where again she was informed that he was away at Yernād. She went there and then again she was told that Kalkuḍa was in the Nāḍ. From Nāḍ she went to Nagar and thence to Kollūru and Peddūra, and on to

1. I. A XXIII, p. 95.

2. *Ibid.*, XXV, p. 224.

Kārkala through Ubār (Uppinaṅgaḍi), until she arrived at Yēnūru.”¹ It was a long distance, indeed, which the determinate daughter of Sambu Kalkuḍa traversed to find out the whereabouts of her brother, the celebrated architect of Tuluva. And in the course of her wanderings, especially within the limits of Tuluva, no robber waylaid her and no shop-keeper cheated her.

One of the reasons why there was security on the public roads in early times in Tuluva was due to the fact that roads were studded with rest-houses in which kind-hearted men were stationed. The Brahman, for example, who gave Kōṭi and Cennaya food and drink, as we have already seen, was one of such rest-house keepers. These rest-houses were called *katte* in Tuluva. The ordinary *kattes* were different from *dharma-katteṣ*. We infer this from the conversation that took place between the Brahman and the two brothers. The latter found that he had three kinds of drinking cups—one for giving water to aristocrats and princes, another, a smaller one, for Brahmans, and third one of bell-metal for people of all castes. They remonstrated that they would not drink from a cup which had been handled by a thousand people. They then asked him to pour water on the dagger’s point. But when the Brahman saw the shining steel, his knees gave way under him and he fell down senseless. “Kōṭi asked of the people—‘Is this water put here by yourselves or by the permis-

1. I. A. XXV, p. 225.

2. I. A. XXIV, p. 152.

sion of the king' ? ” Kōṭi himself was not sure whether it was a *dharma-katte* or one owned by a private person, although before they had approached the rest-house, he had spoken to his younger brother thus—“See here, brother, there is the spot named *dharma-katte*. If you look towards it, you can see it, and your call can be heard there. A poor Brahman keeps holy water here ”¹

The story of Koḍadabbu furnishes us with an example of an ordinary *katte*. “With Kodange Bannāre in front, Babbu walked on the road that led to the house of the Mangalore Uḷḷaya, Buddyaṇṭa. And they neared the Mañjananda-*katte*.”² It was evidently a rest-house that was maintained by a person called Mañjananda.

The beasts of burden of early times which figure in the Pāḍadānas are the elephant, the horse, the ox, and the camel. With the Ballālas and person of high rank, the elephants were common. Adūru Baidya on his way from Kāpī (Kāpu) to Purāl, “passed the *aśvattha* tree to which they tie elephants”, and “the little banyan tree to which they tie horses”.³ In the story of the *bhūta* Mūdader (Kālabhairava), the *bhūta* is represented to have “descended from the temple of Somanātha (Someśvara) and passed by nine tanks, and then he came to a palace at Ullāla. Here he saw one Canta who had two riding elephants to ride.”⁴ The Ballāla of Eḍambūru sent a man to the two brothers with these words :—“If you defeat in battle an elephant, a horse,

1. I. A. XXIII, p. 40.

3. I. A. XXIII, p. 19.

2. *Koḍadabbu*, op. cit.

4. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 189.

and an army, too, I shall give you a *mura* of rice." The heroes in the court of Eḍambūru, therefore, had to fight against elephants. "They went to the Ballāḷa and saluted him. Five hundred elephants were loosed to fight with the heroes of Eḍambūru." "If you come with justice, I will show you the road to my heart, but if you come with injustice I will cut you to pieces like bees", said Cennaya. A troop of horses was brought out to them but Cennaya mounted on a horse and killed it by pressing it so that it vomitted up its food¹

In the above description we have just seen how horses were tied to banyan trees. Bīra Kalkuḍa, being called a bastard, determined to find out who and where his father was. So "he started from his house and passed by a water-course, a high hill, a Brahman (?) tree, where an elephant was tied, a small banyan tree, *santandaḍka*, a stream, Kokkada, and Nīreñki, and come to a cool platform round a *saroli* tree". Meanwhile his father after having finished the great work entrusted to him by the king of Belgola, returned home laden with presents, and the father and son met near the *saroli* tree. "His father being much tired sat with his rewards to take rest on the platform and there the boy tied up his horse."²

In addition to the horse there was the camel in Tuḷuva. The very fact of a camel having been used

1. I. A. XXIV, p. 267.

2. *Ibid*, XXV p. 222.

in Tuḷuva shows that the people had some sort of an overseas trade with those who reared this animal. How the Parimale Ballāḷa presented Sāma Āḷva with a camel to carry the heavy load of liquor home, we have already mentioned in an earlier context.

8. SOURCES OF REVENUE

And now it remains to be seen why the Ballāḷa of Parimale gave his privileged toddy-drawer such a valuable present. When Sāma Āḷva had finished celebrating the marriage of his nephew with Dēyi Baidyedi the Ballāḷa of Parimale said that he intended to give him (Sāma Āḷva) a present after the marriage of his nephew. ‘Sāma Āḷva said—‘O Sir, everything we enjoy is on account of your bounty. Then why should you give us a present’’. At this the Ballāḷa said—‘As you are my friend, the palm-elimber of my forest, therefore, I ought to give you a good present’ At this, Sāma Āḷva said—‘The rice and the salt we eat is yours. What need is there that you should give us any present’’. But the Ballāḷa, not minding these words, called his accountant and told him to go and bring twelve pagodas. He brought and gave them to the Ballāḷa, who called Sāma Āḷva, and gave him the twelve pagodas. Sāma Āḷva stretched forth his hands, bowed his head, and took the pagodas, and thanked the Ballāḷa for his present. The Ballāḷa said to him—‘O Sāma Āḷva, you must take these twelve pagodas, and get a golden bangle prepared out of them, and

wear it upon your waist. This is my present to you. Next year I will give you besides a golden chain to put on your wrist'. He replied—' O Sir, by your kindness alone I am living comfortably '. At this the Ballāḷa said—' You get me fifty pagodas every year for the toddy you draw out of the palm-trees of the forest of Parimale. If it were not for you, I would not get so much. There is none so bold as to go to the forest. A stupid fellow will not be able to supply your place. If my tenants are rich and able to pay, I shall not become poor ' ”¹

Another important source of revenue was that derived from land. There were special fields that yielded State revenue. This is made out from the conversation that took place between the two brothers Kōṭi and Cennaya and the Ballāḷa in the latter's manorial house. The two heroes after murdering Buddyanta, went, as we have already seen, to the *cāvaḍi* or hall of the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru in order to receive a gift from him.² And they spoke thus to the Ballāḷa:—" On the northern part of your house there is a paddy field producing three hundred *muras* of rice and sowing three *seers* (of paddy). Please give us that field. " " The revenue of that field is for governmental taxes. Do not ask for it ! Ask for another, children, " said the Ballāḷa. " There is a paddy field to the south of the *būḍu*

1. I. A. XXV, p. 303.

2. *Cāvaḍi* is also the name given to a verandah in front of a house. R. A. 6

producing five hundred *muras* of rice, and sowing five *seers* of paddy. Please, give us that one," said they. "The produce of that field is to be used for the servants of my house. Therefore, heroes, ask for another present", said he.¹ Evidently there were crown lands in Tuluva

A third source of revenue was from toll-gates. A continual mention of toll-gates with a description of articles taxed, makes us believe that there must have been definite octroi boundaries in the principalities of the Tuluva Ballālas Kōṭi and Cennaya, after having killed the ploughwright and the washerman, both of whom had been impertinent to them, marched along the road chewing betelnut. "There was a toll-gate on the way, and as they approached, the toll-man Dēre saw them coming and asked them who they were. They said that they were travellers. 'Look! there is the toll-gate. Pay me the toll before going away', said the toll-man 'Toll! What is it on? Do we carry any packs on our heads? Do you see any loads on our backs? Is it on any cattle that we have brought with us? Have we brought a whole family with us?'" said the brothers. To this the toll-man Dēre answered—"The toll on the dagger, five feet long, that you carry with you amounts to a cash. Pay that to me and go away."² Hence,

1. I. A. XXIV, p. 150 The Ballāla of Edambūru given in this version is evidently an error for the Ballāla of Parimaḷe. According to one version of the story it was the uncle of the heroes, Sāma Baidya, who advised them to go to the Ballāla. B. A. S.

2. I. A. XXIII, p. 39.

loads carried on head and on the back, cattle, and a whole family were taxed on the boundary limits. In another version of the same story, it is clearly stated thus—"Do men or women follow us, Dēre?"¹ And Dēre's answer to the heroes reveals the fact that arms too were taxed by the Ballāla's Government.

The Ballāla derived revenue also from his great gardens. Large plantations of arecanut, plantain cocoanut, or palm trees covering some times five or six acres of land are called *tōta*. And the wealth of a landlord was measured not so much in terms of cash money which the tenants paid annually but in the rice *muras* and the yield from these gardens. The Ballāla of Mardāl feeling the necessity, as we have seen already, of building a *sthāna* for the *bhūta* Pañjurli, thought of giving his idea a concrete shape. And with the aid of the Brahman astrologer, he fixed "the eleventh of the next month" as the most auspicious day for building the *sthāna*. "Tomorrow I will go and bring all the things required for the purpose," said he. Early next morning he got up and went to the gardens of the Kuṇbis and going from house to house, he got from thence plantain leaves and bunches of plantains, and the tender rinds of plantain trees, and red and white pumpkins, and vegetables of various kinds, and caused them to be carried by servants and sent them to his house. . And then he went to his garden and called the

pūjāri and told him—" Oh Pūjāri, go and get a hundred ripe cocoanuts from the cocoanut trees."¹

The servants of the Ballāḷa's Government were strict and impartial. Kōṭi and Cennaya met the toll-gate keeper Dēre whom they thus accosted — " Never has any man set so low a price on our dagger, and now he has been born." To this the toll-gate keeper Dēre answered :—" Is it wonderful that you should be asked to pay the toll ? If the son of a Banta should pass this way, he would pay toll on the slippers of his feet. Should the Śeṭṭi's son Śēnaya pass, he would pay toll on the white umbrella in his hand. If the son of a king should pass this way he would pay toll on his palanquin "² The honest Dēre paid dearly with his life for his impartiality, but for once the twin heroes had met with a man who set duty above all other considerations.

Among the servants of the Ballāḷa who, as we shall presently see, maintained his authority with a judicious use of presents and punishments, the *pūjāri* or priest and the accountant have already appeared. Likewise have we come across the Brahman who was in charge of the *dharma-kaṭṭe*. Besides these there were other village dignitaries—the ploughwright, the washerman, the oil-maker, and the bell-metal smith. According to one version of the Pāḍadāna on *Kōṭi Cennaya*, Eḍambūru contained all these village servants. How

1. *I. A* XXVI, p 67.

2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 39.

the ploughwright Hinkiri Bānār, the washerman Bālu, and the oil-maker Sanku together with Dēre the toll-gate keeper suffered hardships at the hands of the twin heroes will not be repeated here.¹ The town-crier and the master of the hounds were also looked upon as prominent persons attached to the manorial house of a Ballāla. The town-crier made known the proclamations of the Ballāla to the people by the beating of a bell-metal drum, and the latter was considered as a person without whom the Ballāla never went on his hunting expeditions. And then there was the palm-climber whose importance we have already described. The Eḍambūru Ballāla seems to have had spies, too, as is evident from the manner in which he compelled Kōṭi and Cennaya to submit to a trial of strength.

9. EDUCATION

To make the Mallāḍikāra come hurrying to the palace or the barber come post-haste from Erajha, the Ballāla had recourse to letter-writing which is thus described in the Pāḍadānas. It is in connection with the twin heroes Kōṭi and Cennaya, who had grown into fine striplings. On receiving a complaint from them that Kali was sitting on their faces, while the faces of their rivals, the children of Buddiyanta shone, because of Lakṣmī, their father Sāyana Baidya, according to one version, went straight to the Ballāla of Parimaḷe, and reported that it was high time to have them shaved.

1. *I A. XXIV*, p. 15.

And the Ballāḷa at once gave orders that the ceremony be performed in the same manner it was done in his own household. Forthwith the royal barber called Isara Kambli, living in the lands of one Kaṇḍa Bollare-svāmi, in a place called Karmisāle, in the city of Ijyā on the Ghats, was sent for. And Nārāyana Rangōḷi, the hereditary clerk of the Ballāḷa's *būḍu*, was ordered to write a letter at once to the barber. And "Sāyana Baidya then sent a servant to a place called Uddanda-bottu, and caused some raw leaves of a young palm-tree to be brought and to be exposed to the morning sun. In the evening he caused the leaves to be taken out of the sun, and had them tied up in bundles. He had the middle parts only of the leaves preserved, their ends he had cut off. The clerk held one of those trimmed leaves in his hand and it bent, so he caused oil and turmeric to be put on it. Then he asked Sāyana Baidya what he should write on it."¹

Writing is also mentioned in the Pāḍadāna on *Koḍadabbu*. When the Ullaya Buddyanta of Mangalūru desirous of finding out a spring in the well called Kañcinaḍka, which he had caused to be dug in the fort at Bārakūru, wanted to find out a person who could divine the nature of springs, he went to his Brahman adviser who told him that he could get aid only from a Pariah boy called Babbu, who lived with Koḍanga Bannāre in the village Uppūru. "Then he took a palmyra leaf and wrote a letter. And he sent post-haste

1. *I. A.* XXIII, pp. 30-31.

a Pariah messenger with the letter to the Yerejōgu of Kodanga Bannāre.”¹ In the same Pāḍadāna on *Koḍadabbu* we have the length of the palmyra leaf. On receiving the letter from Buddyanta of Mangalūru, Koḍanga Bannāre gave to the Pariah messenger, who had thus brought him a letter, “milk in a cup and water in a *cambu*”. He then “read the palmyra leaf which was a *gēna* in length, and he read it to the length of a *māru*”.²

Instruction in reading and writing was received in schools called in Tulu *garaḍi*. The best example of a *garaḍi* is that given in the Pāḍadāna on *Kōṭi Cennaya*. It is called the *garaḍi* of Peru Perumunde. Kōṭi and Cennaya were directed to the house of Candagidi, the school master who owned the *garaḍi*, by Paḷli Bannaya. They approached Sandagidi's (i. e., Candagidi's) house and called him loudly by name. “When they called him, he was not there but his wife answered the call. ‘Do you know, girl, where he has gone?’ asked they. ‘He went to a *garaḍi* at Peru Perumunde to teach boys to write and play,’ said she”.³ We shall have to see more about this school presently.

Writing was in the primary stages taught on sand. This is how the seven children of Murave Byāri and Fātīma learnt the art of writing. “They brought many a handful of fine sand from the sea-shore and put it on

1. *Koḍadabbu*, op. cit.

2. A *gēna* = a span from the tip of the thumb to that of the little finger; a *māru* = a space to which a man can extend his arms. *Koḍadabbu*, op. cit.

3. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 214. .

the western verandah. They wrote on sand, and learnt writing on it. They got planks. They brought short leaves of the palm-tree from Uddandaboṭṭu, put them in the sun when it was low in the east and heaped them up in the evening when the sun was dark. Next day they cut off both ends of the leaves and bound the middle parts into books. They had five handfuls of leaves, and three of written books. They clearly read the writing on the leaves and only murmured books. Their writing on sand, planks, and leaves was done well."¹

That the Tuḷuvas knew writing in the days of Kōṭṭi and Cennaya there can be no doubt. This is proved by the reference made in their Pāḍadāna to a stone inscription. When Cennaya and his brother had levelled the palace of the Ballāla of Pañja to the ground, they caused the Ballāla to be brought before them, and after showering a volley of abuse on him, ended their speech thus — "Seven feet of land in the village of Pañja we shall annex to Eḍambūru." Having thus severely reproached the Ballāla, they told him that they would leave the village. On one side was Pañja, and on the other was Eḍambūru, and between them was a *śilā*-stone, serving as a boundary-mark. They saw the stone, and it was covered with writing. "Look here, brother, see this writing on this stone," said the

1. I. A XXV, p. 239. The name given to the iron pencil which was used for writing is *kantāvu*. No mention is made in the Pāḍadānas of *kadata* or cloth manufactured out of the charcoal and gum, on which accounts were written in later days. B.A.S.

younger brother. "My qualifications are only that I was born before you and that I have grown up speedily, but writing, wit, and wisdom are all your part," said Kōṭi. Then the younger brother knelt down. Was it to dig the stone? Or was it to read the writing on it? He read the writing and said to his brother thus—"O my brother! In former times, Eḍambūru was very powerful and Pañja paid tribute to Eḍambūru. Now Pañja has become powerful and Eḍambūru pays tribute to Pañja. Seven feet of the land of the village of Eḍambūru have been annexed to Pañja. Therefore it is now necessary to change the place of this stone." Having said this, he dug up the stone, and moved it seven feet back, and thus annexed seven feet of land to Eḍambūru ¹

There is reference to sewing in the Pāḍadānas. Cennaya of Eḍambūru led the heroes to the palace of the Ballāla of Eḍambūru. And while they were passing through the famous forest of Kemmuḷe, their guide spoke to them thus:—"He (the Ballāla of Eḍambūru) has ordered me to take you to him I can do it; but look here, my heroes! We shall have to go through the forest of Kemmuḷe If you see anything in that forest do not say to any one that you have seen it. If you hear anything, do not say that you have heard it. If a pregnant cow goes into the forest, it brings forth a dead calf. If a pregnant woman goes there she miscarries. If a bird able to fly goes there, its wings are

1. I. A. XXIII, p. 46.

torn. If a creeping ant goes there, it can creep no more. Therefore, oh you heroes, you should follow me as a child follows its mother, as chickens follow the hen, and as the thread follows the needle.”¹

The description of the ship which the enterprising children of Murave Byāri of Sulikal built proves again that the Tuḷu people knew how to tack the sails and construct an awning. Silken flags are continually mentioned in the Pāḍadānas. When Kocālva Ballāla of Nandārabettu wanted to be a patron of the *bhūta* Ambadāḍi Pañjurli, he spoke to it thus—“To a *bhūta*, that desires to come to me, I will not say nay. If you will cast aside your present form, and come to me, I will have a woollen couch prepared for you, and cause a silken flag to be raised. I will offer to you a pig made of bell-metal.”²

The names of some musical instruments are given in the Pāḍadānas. When their uncle had got ready for Kōti and Cennaya a coat and a pair of trousers each, he had a horn (*kombu*) blown in their honour. The two heroes on reaching the house of their brother-in-law, Payya Baidya of Palli, asked him who the two most intimate friends of Kemēr Ballāḷa of Pañja were. And Payya answered in return that Cāmunḍa Bernāye and Candagiḍi Baidya were the most faithful friends of the Ballāḷa. Candagiḍi Baidya was the same person about whom we have already mentioned a few details. It was

1. *I. A* XXIII, p. 46.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

his wife who had replied to the two heroes that her husband had gone to a *garaḍi* at Peru Perumunde to teach the boys to write and play.

The following was what they witnessad in the *garaḍi*. "In a small hut consecrated to the *bhūta* in the village Peru Perumunde, Candagiḍi was teaching a number of boys to play dexterously on the flute. They went towards the place. Candagiḍi saw them afar, ordered the sound of the flute to cease, and all men to be silent, and shut the door" On receiving no reply to their call, the heroes broke open the door and discovered Candagiḍi hiding behind a pillar. "I have heard that you are teaching some boys to play on the flute. Teach my brother Cennaya," said Koti. "I will teach him. The new comer shall be the pupil and he who was here before shall be the master", said Candagiḍi. Then they played on the flute.¹

In addition to the horn and the flute, there was the *pañcavādyā*. In the *Pāḍadāna* on *Koḍadabbu* mention is made of the *pañcavādyā*. The mother of *Koḍadabbu*, *Kaccūru Māldi*, travelled on and on till she reached the limits of *Bārakūru*. "She came to the temple of *Maheśvara* in *Barakūru*. There was the usual music (*vādyā*) accompanied by the *pañcavādyā* and the horn called the *sannata* and the fire-works called *sakananda*".² The five kinds of musical instruments were the follow-

1. I. A. XXIII, p. 44.

2. *Koḍadabbu*, op. cit.

ing—the lute, the cymbals, the drum, the trumpet, and a kind of hautboy.¹

10. RELIGION

The Pāḍadānas do not inform us when the great religions were introduced into Tuluva. But one significant fact revealed in the folk-songs is that most of the *bhūtas* descended from the Ghats. This is how the story of Pañjurli begins—“A sow gave birth to a twin brother and sister. ‘Now we must descend the Ghats! What god shall we serve? If we serve the god Sīḍalinga in the south, he will probably accept our services, but his male attendants will not allow that. If we should offer to serve the god Mahālinga-śvara in the north, he may probably accept our services, but his male attendants will not let us serve him. Now there is the god Jimmappa in the east, mightier than all the gods and the *bhūtas*. He is remarkably powerful, but his male attendants will interfere. There is the god Subrāya on the Ghats. He will permit us to serve him, but his male attendants will not allow that’”. So spake Pañji Gujjare, king of the pigs, and Pañji Kāli, queen of the pigs.² In the Pāḍadāna on the acts of Kaṇapāḍitāya, the *bhūta* is represented as having “descended into the Tulu country

1. Männer, *Tulu-English Dicty.*, p. 376 The *pañcavādyā* of Tuluva is evidently the same as the *pañca-mahā-vādyā* mentioned in Kannada inscriptions. B. A. S.

2. I. A. XXIII, p. 21.

from the Ghats".¹ Likewise the story of the *bhūta* called Mundipāḍitāya known in Kāśī as Kālabhairava, and Vaidyanātha, speaks of the *bhūta* as having descended into the Tulu country from the Ghats.² King Dharma after finishing his toilet at the hands of the barber Binnaḍi Kāra, said "that he wanted to descend to the Tulu country and see the Tulu people".³ It was this Dharma who later on became known as the *bhūta* Todakinār. The same wish was expressed by the two boys born in the palace at Nāgaloka and Devaloka, who afterwards became known as Attāvara . Doyyongulu.⁴

The Tuluvas were aware of more humane agencies. The reference to god Subrahmanya on the Ghats, as we have just seen, is to a Brahman centre. And the mention of the gods Īśvara, Nārāyana, and Brahmā bespeaks a knowledge of the Hindu religion. A Pāḍadāna begins thus :—"In the beginning when god Nārāyāṇa created the earth, Īśvara sat on his right and Brahmā on his left."⁵ We have already seen how in the question which the two brothers, Kōṭi and Cennaya, put to their guide Cennaya of Eḍambūru about the structure which lay head of them, they showed a knowledge of the temples of the Hindus and of the Jinas, and of a mosque of the Māpillas.⁶

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 92

2. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 15. This Pāḍadāna has no title.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 47, *op cit.*

The Ballāḷas seem to have naturally been influenced by Hindu customs. The spies sent by the Eḍambūru Ballāḷa to find out what the two brothers were doing, reported that Kōṭi and Cennaya were speaking very contemptuously of his government, and that, among other things, they suggested that all "the *śrāddhas* of your ancestors, which have remained unperformed should now be performed."¹

The Tuluvas believed indeed in God and in Heaven, although the spirits of the dead heroes made up their lower hierarchy. When the great battle was ended, and Kōti lay wounded, the Ballāḷa of Edambūru, whom the hero had saved from utter ruin, met the heroes with these words—"O great hero! You are he that saved the whole of my kingdom!" "It is well," said Kōti, 'but, my lord, pour some water into my throat that I may go to heaven. I will leave this body and go to Kailāsa' ".²

The only specific reference to serpent worship is in the Pāḍadāna on Koḍadabbu Bāle Kaccūru Māldi, the mother of Kodadabbu, was born in Kōteśvara in the Kundāpūru tāluka. "Once she said that she wanted to go from Kōteśvara (to Bārakūru). Having said that with a *naḍupadi nāga* and a *kaḍupoti berma* in her hands, and with a *mūli* of mud and a *mūli* of bronze and a *nāga-darbe* stick, she came to the south".³ Kaccūru Māldi was known for the many charms she could perform.

1. I C. XXIII, p. 49.

2. Ibid, p. 90.

3. Kodadabbu, op. cit.

In the Pāḍadānas the building of a *sthāna*, or as it is more popularly known a *sāna*, is always described as the work that required great pomp and trouble. To build a *sthāna* the aid of a Brahman astrologer was necessary. How fervently the Ballāla of Mardāl prayed to the Brahman to come to his *būḍu* in order to fix a day for the opening ceremony of a *sthāna*, we have seen already in an earlier connection. The same Pāḍadāna tells us how much it cost a Ballāla, over and above the price of building materials such as trees, stones, etc., to build a *sthāna*. The Ballāla of Mardāl after informing his nephew that he, according to the advice of the Brahman, was thinking of erecting a *sthāna* for the new *bhūta*, continued thus—"Therefore I must begin the work of building the *sthāna* next Friday. I must call the carpenters, and then begin the work. I cannot do well this without fifteen pagodas. I am, therefore, anxious not knowing what to do. What do you know of my anxiety?"¹

Although the Ballāla showed great anxiety in the matter of constructing a *sthāna* for the *bhūta* Pañjurli, yet he soon collected all the materials required for a *sthāna* with the aid of his tenants and friends. The Ballāla urged the Brahman to come to the *būḍu* and the latter consented saying—"Well, I will come. What can I do when you are so urgent? I cannot deny you. Therefore, I will come. And I will tell you what things are necessary on the day. Twelve *seers* of rice and twelve

1. I. A. XXVI, p. 61.

bundles of betel-leaves, forty-eight betel-nuts, twelve bunches of the flowers of the areca-nut tree, forty-eight kinds of parasitic plants, a bundle of firewood of the jack-tree, ninety-six tender cocoanuts, ninety-six ripe cocoanuts, forty-eight grains of rice and forty-eight *seers* of baked rice, forty-eight *seers* of beaten rice, ninety-six *seers* of jaggery, twelve dried cocoanuts, one hundred plantain leaves, one hundred ripe plantains, twelve *seers* of *ghī*, forty-eight *seers* of oil, and three *seers* of butter; you must procure all these and then find out a good man to represent the *bhūta*. Let all these things be procured; and on that day send for me early in the next morning, and I will come to you. And what else can I do?"¹

That was not all. The *sthāna* had to be equipped. The Ballāla of Mardāl "got a cot prepared for Pañjurī *bhūta* and got a wooden railing on three sides of it, and got it painted. Then he sent iron to the blacksmith's shop and got a trident prepared with a chain and small jingling bells attached to the three points of it; and also a sword and goglets and stool and all other necessary ornaments prepared"² It was when he had thus got ready all the required articles that he went to the house of the fortune-telling Brahman astrologer.

To the *bhūtas* who attended on the gods, the people performed an illumination that lasted for thirty days. "Thirty days in honour of the goddess Parameśvarī of

Purāla ! 'Thirty days' play with bulls ! 'Three days' fighting with cocks ! 'Thirty days' play with areca-nuts, and gambling with cocoanuts ! 'Thirty days' festival ! 'Thirty days' illumination of the *guḍi* ! The ceremony of raising Viṣṇu's flag and the figure of Garuḍa ! Aḍūru Dēre Baidya intended to go ! '' Thus is related in the Pāḍadāna on *Jūmādi*.¹

The Tuluvas represented some *bhūtas* as destructive agents. In the Pāḍadāna on *Pañjurī*, the Ballāla of Kukyālī named Karenke, after instructing the Pombada called Kāntu, who was to personate the *bhūta*, consoles him by saying that whereas he himself would be getting only a vow from the poor, the Pombada would get a feast and a sacrifice from the rich, and that, therefore, he would do well to be a *bhūta*. "If you go to a forest you will be called a pig, but be a *bhūta*, that is, the master of a thousand people. Īśvara has given you authority to kill a man, who was to have lived twelve years more, if he had not disregarded you ! So great a *bhūta* you are ! ''²

In Tuḷuva the man who personates a *bhūta* is a Pombada by caste. And the priest of a *bhūtasthāna* is generally a Baidyenāye (or a Billavar), the only exception being in Ekkār, near Mūlki, where the *pūjāri* is a *Vokkēlme* or a Bunt. That the Tuluvas distinguished evil spirits from *bhūtas*, can be made out from the description of the great forest deity of Kemmuḷe,

1. I. A. XXIII, p. 19.

2. *Ibid*, XXV, p. 274.

the *bhūta* Brahmara, who in the *Pādadāna* on *Kōti Cennaya* is thus pictured. The brothers had finished praying to the *bhūta* and "before the words had left their lips, Brahmara had granted their prayer. The doors that had been shut opened, and the lamps that had been put out became lighted, and all their prayer was fully answered. They then prayed that the *bhūta* should descend from the seventh storey of the *guḍi*, and come down to the third, and that he should hold a golden plate in his hands, and receive their offerings. Then Brahmara descended from the seventh storey to the third, riding on a white horse. Holding a silver umbrella, he wore a garland of white conch shells on his right shoulder, and on his left, a garland of black shells. He held discus on his head and his breast was covered with a square shield"¹

But *Kāntu Pombada* who acted the part of *Pañjurī* may be taken to be the type of a *Tuḷuva* devil-dancer, It was not enough to get painted, if, for example, a man wanted to imitate a *Pañjurī*, like a pig, or to sing the origin and prowess of a *bhūta* like a squirrel. There were many preliminaries to be got ready, there was the ceremony of getting possessed, and finally there was the dancing. And in no *Pādadāna* is the whole picture so faithfully depicted as in the story of *Pañjurī* in which the *Ballāla* of *Mardāḷ*, with the aid of the Brahman astrologer, had got everything in perfect trim, and was only awaiting the arrival of the *Pombada* priest.

1. *I. A.*, XXIII, p. 47.

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A Pombada Devil-dancer

Photo by M. S. R.]

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When the sun was about to set they "got the *sthāna* cleansed. And the Bhatta lit a fire for a sacrifice with firewood from the jack-tree, and gave oblations of *ghī*, to the *bhūta*, and gave sacrifices according to a certain number. As the sacrifices were over, the sun set, then the devil-dancer also came. Then the Bhatta sitting before the fire took tender cocoanuts and ripe cocoanuts, and beaten-rice and baked-rice, and honey, and *ghī*, and butter, and curds, and milk, and prepared *pañcāmṛta*, and then the Bhatta took the sandal stone and rubbed sandal wood upon it and prepared sandal. Then the Bhatta called the Ballāḷa and told him—'Now take the devil-dancer yourself to the tank, and let him bathe there and come' So saying he sent them, and before they returned he made everything ready in the *sthāna*. And then they came and entered the *sthāna* and stood before the sacrificial fire. Then the Bhatta said—'Now be not dilatory. Give the devil-dancer the flowers of the arecanut tree and some grains of rice; and let him stand in front of us. Give him the sword and the bell'.

"Having done so, all of them prayed—'O Lord! if you are Pañjurli *bhūta* of a truth, let it become known to us in this way' So saying all of them at once threw rice upon the devil-dancer. Then the music was played. Suddenly the devil-dancer began to tremble and cried out with a loud voice and ran round the *sthāna* and ran to the tank and bathed again, and came back and took the sword, and began to pierce his belly with

it. Then the Bāragas, who had come together in the *sthāna*, took away the sword from the hands of the devil-dancer, and prayed thus—‘O Lord Pañjurli, if you are of truth, now you must open your mouth and speak to us. We have taken much pains to believe in you. Now you must be pleased with us and take the sacrifice which we offer, and order us and save us.’

“At this the Pañjurli said ‘O Ballāla, I came down from the sky, yet I had no ladder to do it. Do you hear me? I am he that came down without a ladder. Great magicians tried for seven days and seven nights to catch me; and yet they could not catch me, but I am to come here. Now I must go about to the great towns and see renowned places and seek for a habitation. I am come to help the men of this world. Take courage. Do not be afraid. I am very much pleased with the sacrifice which you have offered. And yet you must henceforth give me two *tambilas* every year. If you fail in this, I will give you trouble. Then you must not complain of me. Now I am very glad that I have first drunk milk in your house. In future I will help you, so that no sickness or disease attack your children or your cattle. Now bring me food, the devil-dancer is getting very tired. I must not give (him) much trouble. Bring me all sorts of cakes and puddings and milk, and I will take my food.’

“At this the Ballāla said—‘O Bāragas! Pañjurli has spoken well. He is the demon of truth. Bring him the food that he has asked. Let him take it.’

“All the Bāragas hearing these words, brought food to Pañjurī. Pañjurī when he was about to take the food, asked the Ballāla—‘O Ballāla ! How is the *trīśūla* which you have got prepared for me ? I wish to see it, bring it here before me !’

“Then they brought the *trīśūla* to Pañjurī *bhūta* and gave it to him. Then Pañjurī took the *trīśūla* in one of his fingers, and said—‘All of you see this, now, though the *trīśūla* is so big, it is only so to you ; but it is not so to me. To me this is a straw. It is not big in my eyes And now I must see all the other ornaments which you have prepared for me !’

“At this, they brought the mask (*aṁ*) which they had prepared for Pañjurī and gave it to him. He saw the mask and was quite delighted with it, and putting it on his face, trembled and cried out in a loud voice, and said—‘You see, the mask which you have prepared for me is very beautiful.’

“And again he said—‘Now bring the goggles!’ And so the goggles were brought. In this manner they did everything ; and the *bhūta* enjoyed the feast, and having finished the dedication the assembly dispersed.”¹

The good feeling that existed between the different communities is seen in the Pāḍadānas which mention how Muhammadans and Hindus lived harmoniously together. In the village of Uddara or Uddaḷa, near Manjēśvara, a great devil-dancing ceremony

1. I. A. XXVI, pp. 68-69. Contrast the barbarous account given by Lavie in Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, I. p. 139. B. A. S.

is held. It is of the *bhūtas* called the Doyyongulu. When the *ayana* of the Doyyongulu takes place every year, it is customary for the Pombada priests to go to the mosque of the Māpillas and to assure the latter of the sympathy and support of the Hindus. This is in memory of the success which had attended the arms of a Māpilla general during the mediaeval ages when he had prayed the Doyyongulu for help, and when, as we have already mentioned, he presented them with grants of land.¹

Another example of the amity that prevailed among the two communities is given in the Pāḍadāna of *Bobbarye*. In this we are told that the children of Murave Byāri determined to go on trading in a ship, as narrated in an earlier context. And with the money which they got by selling their she-buffalo, they collected some fishermen and Māpillas and went to Periyer Kaḍaṇjar. And when they neared the temple of Brahmā, the Byāris were brought to "a halt by the villagers." "If you are in your caste you may come into the temple yard and touch the door and then tell us what you want," said the villagers.² It was a remarkable privilege, indeed, which the Māpillas received at the hands of their Hindu brethren.

11. CUSTOMS AND MANNERS

The difference that existed between the customs prevalent among the Brahmans and those which were

1. Cf. Aygal, Doyyongolu, pp 2-4. *Supra*, p 464

2. *I. A* XXV, pp. 239, seq.

common among the Billavars is given in the cruel case of the young maid of the Jōti Brahman caste, who afterwards became known to Tuluva tradition as Dēyi Baidyedi. To the Baidya saviour who had with great respect come near her and promised to loosen her bonds, the poor girl related thus her sad story "In that case I will tell you, hear me If you ask me where I came from, I came from Parimaḷe A Brahman maid is like an earthen pot A copper pot may be touched by any one, but an earthen one must not be touched by outsiders When a dog touches an earthen pot, it is thrown away This is the custom among the Brahmans If you ask my parents' names, I will not tell you. I am not married. I am a virgin maid. I am thirteen years of age. Nobody came to ask me in marriage, and as I reached puberty before marriage, they tied my hands and eyes and left me in the forest. If a girl obtains puberty before her marriage, they do not allow her to remain in the town but send her to the forest. This is the custom among the Brahmans" The Billavar hearing this custom replied—"O maid! your custom is not among other castes. Is it a sin in a girl to attain puberty before marriage? In our caste we have no such custom We always marry after a girl attains puberty. It is very rarely that we marry before that."

Then the girl continued—"There is another custom among the Brahmans. If a little girl, still a child, should lose her husband and becomes a widow, she is

not allowed to marry again. God has created different customs for different castes.”

And the startled Baidya gave her the following reply—“These Brahmans are very hard-hearted men. They do not show any mercy to their offspring. It would be better for them to kill her (a child) at once than to bring her and leave her in the forest in this manner. No other castes are so hard-hearted as the Brahmans. It seems to me that this custom is not given to you by God, but instituted by men themselves. God will never ordain that they should sacrifice young women to tigers and bears, to be devoured by them.”¹

Sāma Ālva, who said these words, showed how humane and wise the Billavars were by giving the forlorn girl in marriage to his own nephew Sāyana Baidya. He said to his sister, the mother of Sāyana Baidya, thus—“We must celebrate a marriage. We must not do everything according to our will. We must first tell the Ballāla of Parimale. After informing him we must inform all the leaders of our caste. We must prepare all things necessary for the marriage. We must get half a *korjī* of rice prepared. We shall require oil, jaggery, cocoanuts, salt, tamarinds, coriander, and saffron, etc.”²

But the next question was that of fixing the day of marriage. This was the work of the devil-priests. After giving them betel-leaves and betel nuts to eat,

1. I A. XXV, p. 296

2. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

and a mat to sit upon, Sāma Ālva requested them to help him as regards the celebration of the marriage. And "then the devil-priests consulted among themselves, and said to Sāma Ālva 'You must have the marriage celebrated on the ninth day of the next month. It is an auspicious day!' Sāma Ālva consented and said-'By that day I will have everything ready.' Then the priests asked him-'For what numbers of persons are you preparing the feast?' 'For eight hundred persons', replied he, and asked them-'Will that be enough?' They replied-'It is according to your ability. We will not constrain you.' So saying they dispersed and returned to their homes."¹

Sāma Ālva had in the meanwhile already got all the necessary articles ready. In this matter he had secured the aid of those persons who had come to his house to drink palm-juice. And they were the Buṇṭs, and the Koragars, the Holeyas and the other low castes. "Sāma Ālva told the Holeyas to bring one *mura* of salt and told the Koragars to bring baskets, etc., prepared for him. When the fishermen came to his house to drink, he told them to supply him with enough fish for a marriage feast. And when the Buṇṭs came to his house, he said to them-'O ye sons of Śeṭṭis! There is to be a marriage in my house; you must do me a favour.'"²

The permission of the Ballāḷa had next to be secured. So the palm-climber hurried to his master's

1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 300.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

būdu. The following conversation between the Ballāla and his privileged Baidya illustrates the cordial feelings that existed between a Tuluva master and his servant "As I was starting to come here in order to tell you," said Sāma Ālva, 'your servant came to call me, and I have accompanied him' On this the Ballāla said—'O Sāma Ālva' Tell me what has happened in your house? Then Sāma Ālva began from the beginning and related to him the whole story, and the Ballāla of Parimaḷe said to him—'You have no daughter Therefore, God has given you this daughter Marry her to your nephew'

"To this he replied—'So think I and I do according to your help' Then the Ballāla said again—'Ask me whatever you want Do not be afraid' Then he said—'Everything requires your help' Then the Ballāla said again—'Ask me whatever you want' Then he said—'Upto this day I have never once given a big feast Therefore, this time I must give a feast to all my castemen in the town If I do not, they will excommunicate me' Then the Ballāla asked him—'O Ālva' Tell me how much you require?' He replied—'Sir, I shall require half a *koryi* of rice. I want your help in this. This is the chief item' Then the Ballāla said—'O Sāma Ālva, why are you afraid? I will help you I will give you whatever you require' Then Sāma Ālva replied—'It is true that you will give me this now. But must not I return it afterwards? What shall I say of a feast which is to be given by contracting

debts? Many have come to poverty and sold their lands and homes by contracting debts during marriages. If one becomes poor, the rich look down upon him. The poor man is lighter than cotton.' At this the Ballāla said—'Do not talk too much, but go home and make everything ready. Whatever is wanting, I will supply.'"¹ No doubt the Ballāla took a paternal interest in the welfare of his Baidya. But as Sāma Ālva's sister and nephew, and Sāma Ālva himself, remarked, custom required that they had to return back unto the Ballāla all that they had received from him. "It is true he will supply us now," said the nephew, "but we will have to return it to him afterwards. We are happy when we borrow, but it is very difficult to return what is borrowed afterwards"²

When the devil-priests had fixed the day of the marriage, and the Ballāla had guaranteed support to Sāma Ālva, invitations were sent to the latter's relatives and caste people and friends. How the invitations were sent the Pādādānas unfortunately do not inform us. We are to suppose that they must have been conveyed by word of mouth. When once again the devil-priests questioned Sāma Ālva as to the number of persons he was going to invite to the marriage, he said—"One person from each house." And the persons thus invited were not to come to Sāma Ālva's house empty-handed. The devil-priests on hearing that he intended to invite one person from

1-2. *I. A.* XXV, pp. 299, 300.

each house, said—"Yes, that is right. If you invite one person from each house, you will get a load from every house, and it will not be necessary for you to buy vegetables, etc." Invitations to a marriage in ancient Tuluva, therefore, carried deep obligations with them.

The relatives and friends, however, were not to come only with loads of vegetables. When Sāma Ālva had finished talking with the devil-priests, "in the evening, men, women, and children came to his house. The sister of Sāma Ālva received them, and spread mats for them, and made them sit down, and gave them betel-leaves and nuts, and thus showed them respect. Sāma Ālva's wife brought lamps and kept them in the rooms and lighted them. All the neighbours who came to the marriage helped them in preparing for the feast. Vegetables of various kinds were brought and cut into small pieces, and made into curry, fowls were killed and prepared in curries of various kinds, sweet-meats were made, rice was boiled, and everything was made ready for the marriage day."¹ This singular feature of society even now prevails in Tuluva.

And so when everything was got ready, betel-leaves and nuts were received and given back, and on the ensuing week, on a Sunday, the bride was taken to the bridegroom, and the actual ceremony of marriage at last arrived. And then "guests began to come in, relatives, and friends came, and all were made to sit in the marriage pandal. Then the devil-priests of the *sthāna*

1. *I. A. XXV*, p. 301.

came and sat in the place of honour. They called Sāma Ālva and asked him if the bridegroom was ready. So the bridegroom and the bride adorned themselves and were brought and made to sit on the raised spot reserved for them. Then the women of the town who had come to the marriage sat in a semi-circle before them. The men sat on one side, the chief men of the caste in the front row. They called Sāma Ālva and told him to perform the marriage ceremony. He called his sister to him to join him in pouring water. She said—‘ O brother, do it yourself with your wife. Pour water, you and your wife, and give Dēyi Baidyedi in marriage to my son.’ Then he asked the priests of the *sthāna* whether they consented to what his sister had said. They replied—‘If you agree to it, we also agree ’

“He asked his relatives and friends and they also consented. Then he stood up and called Sāyana Baidya to him and told him to stand with his face to the east ; and next he called Dēyi, his own daughter, and told her to stand with her face to the west, and made them give to each other their right hands, and took a water-pot and poured water and gave the bride to the bride-groom. Then (he) asked the priests what he should do next. ‘Now let the bridegroom and the bride sit down,’ said they, ‘and let the relatives and friends sprinkle rice upon them.’

“ Then, one by one, they went and gave money into the hands of the bride and bridegroom and sprinkled

rice upon their heads. Afterwards when the *sesa* (the sprinkling of rice) ceremony was over, all the men and women stood up, and taking rice in their hands, threw it simultaneously upon the bride and the bridegroom, blessing them at the same time saying,—‘May you live till the sun and the moon cease to shine! May you live till your hair becomes white! May you get children and grand-children, and may you increase abundantly.’ Then the priests told Sāma Ālva to present a new *dhōtra* to the bridegroom and a new *s’ire* to the bride. Then the bride and the bridegroom put on new clothes and came and prostrated themselves before their relatives and friends, who blessed them and said—‘May God bless you with long life and save you!’

“Then the priests said—‘Now make haste, it is getting late, rice and curry is getting cold, let the guests sit down to dinner!’ Then all the guests and friends went out of the pandal and servants came with brooms to sweep the place. Afterwards the chief men of the caste came and made all the people sit in rows, and pieces of plantain leaves were placed before each person. The relatives and friends were made to sit in the front rows, and all were made to sit according to rank. Those who had come uninvited were made to sit in the hindmost row. Then rice was brought and served, and curry was brought and served. Then they were told to eat. Then they began to eat. Afterwards *pāyasa* (a thick gruel like preparation made of coconut juice and jaggery, rice and pulse was served and

over the *pāyasa* sugar was served in plentifully. All the people partook of as much as they liked, and were satisfied, and said they had never tasted such a good dinner. So they arose from the dinner, and the plantain leaves on which they had eaten were all removed and given to the Koragars. The Koragars found on the plantain leaves quantities of rice, which had been left by the eaters; and they ate it and they were glad. So the pandal was swept and cleansed, and again a second party (*i. e.*, those who had not taken their meal at the first time) sat down to dinner, and after they had finished their dinner, a third party (*i. e.*, those who were employed as serving their guests, etc.) sat down to dinner. After all had thus finished their dinner, all the guests sat down, and the chief men of the caste and the priests of the *sthāna* called Sāma Ālva, and said to him—‘O Sāma Ālva, none have ever prepared so well for a marriage feast as you have. God’s blessing is upon you! You are a fortunate man.’ Some indeed said—‘He would not have found a girl in the forest if he were not a fortunate man.’ Then they said to Sāma Ālva—‘Now we will go.’ Then he said, clasping his hands—‘You have helped me in celebrating the marriage of my nephew. As you have been so kind, this marriage has been celebrated with much success.’ At this they said—‘Do not complement us; all has gone off so well on account of your good fortune; we have done nothing. Now we are going.’ Then he gave them betel leaves and nuts, etc., and showed them respect.

So they went away gladly. Then his relatives also prepared to go. But he prevented them and said 'You must stay here four days more.' So they stayed."¹

As days passed Dēyi Baidyedi was on the way to motherhood. Here it is interesting to note the food that was given to pregnant women in Tuḷuva. The Pāḍadāna on *Kallurtti* enlightens us on this point. Sambu Kalkuḍa received "letter after letter, messenger after messenger" from Bēlūr. "These letters and messengers are sent on first but I will supply the pregnant woman (his wife) with medicine, and I am coming," said Sambu Kalkuḍa. He supplied her with five *seers* of mustard, three *seers* of pepper, some dried cocoanuts, a pot full of oil, and a bell metal measuring half a *seer* instead of a stone.²

The account of the birth of Kōti and Cennaya Baidya is thus given in their Pāḍadāna. "On a lucky day of the month of Sōna, the water of pregnancy came in the womb of Dēyi, and her womb grew larger. In the beginning of the ninth month of pregnancy, she was called to the *būḍu* of Parimale Ballāla to give him medicine."³ And when she had cured him of his illness, the time came for her delivery. And "the Ballāla at once ordered her to be taken to a comfortable place and sent for midwives. The midwives came and helped her, and she brought forth twin boys."⁴ According to another version, Dēyi Baidyedi refused to be

1. *I. A.* XXV, pp. 301-302.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

3. *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 119.

4. *Ibid.*, XXV, p. 307.

confined in the Ballāla's *būḍa*. " 'I will not bring forth my child at the *būḍa* built by you,' said she to the Ballāla. The Ballāla got her a hut and a yard belonging to one Brahman, a tenant of some dry land. He took off his waist-belt of silver, and placed it for her to hold on. 'By holding this, with one single pain, will you bring forth the children from your womb, and be well. I shall come to give names to your children,' said he."¹

Likewise in a third version of the story we have the following—"By this time Dēyi felt pain and (her attendants) hung a rope to facilitate the delivery, praying to the *bhūta* Brahmara of Kemmuḷe."² "Thus did she bring forth and the first *śatakam* and the holy water of God was brought to her, and she bathed on the fortieth day. After some days and months were (had ?) passed, Dēyi went to a temple,³ to obtain merit, and offered at the feet of God an areca flower and a handful of money."⁴ Having received several flowers from the priest, she returned home, while her husband, Sāyana Baidya, being overjoyed "called some of the wild people who lived in the jungles and told them to bring to him four loads of young bamboo shoots and a load of lemons."⁵ With this he hurried to the Ballāla's *būḍa*.^a Meanwhile the Ballāla of Parimaḷe had sent for her,

1. I.A. XXIV, p. 141.

2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 29

3. Perhaps that under the charge of Ellūr Abbe. B A S

4. I A. XXIV, p. 14

5. *Ibid*, XXV, p. 307.

and requested her, since she had already bathed on the fortieth day, to take food in his palace ¹

And then came the ceremony of christening the children. According to one version, it was at the suggestion of the Ballāla that the twins were called Kōṭi Baidya and Cennaya Baidya, although just above we saw that it was one Birmana (Brahman) who promised to christen the children. The Ballāla, however, gave them names. "A short stool with three legs was placed for him (the Ballāla) to sit on 'Do you, Dēyi, call your children as I want to see them', said the Ballāla. Then she went inside and brought out Kōṭi who was born first 'O Dēyi, you had better give this child the name of Kōṭi that he may endure for ever, like the corner-stone of the temple of Kōṭeśvara, and to the second child the name Cennaya, that he may endure like the corner-stone of the temple at Cattīśvara', said the Ballāla 'Keep these children in a cradle and swing it'."

Another version of the story has the following—
 "Then, first she brought forth a male child. From one womb she brought forth two children. On the ninth day after this, she and her children were purified, and it was desired that the ceremony of giving names to the children should be performed on that day. So that he might out-live the corner-stone of the temple

1. *I. A* XXV, p. 308, XXIII, p. 29, XXIV, p. 141.

2. *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 141.

of the god at Kōtēśvara in the south, the first was named Kōti, and so that he might live as long as there existed the corner-stone of the temple of the god at Badiriṅga (Badarinātha ?) in the north, the second was named Cennaya."¹

And when the children grew into fine youths, there came another important ceremony. It was that of tonsure and a bath. Sāyana Baidya, in order to inform the Ballāla that the boys needed treatment under a razor, said—"The goddess Kālī who sits in the face of the children whom you have nourished, should be driven away, and the goddess of wealth should be invited to sit there instead." It was to drive out Kālī, therefore, that the Ballāla ordered his court-clerk to write a letter to the barber of the *būḍu*, who lived on the Ghats, to come at once, in whatever dress he was and even though he had half finished his dinner. Thus it was that Kande Bollarasvāmī *alias* Īsara Kambli living in a place called Karmisāle in the city of Ijyā on the Ghats, was made to come through the letter written by Nārāyana Rangōjī. The letter was delivered by Vanṇapa Bhaṇḍhāri. Īsara Kambli at once hurried to the low country taking with him all instruments, *viz.*, "two pairs of razors, a pair of scissors, a small cup for holding water, tweezers and a glass in which the face could be reflected." On reaching the Ballāla's palace, he was asked to name all the things required for the ceremony. "Five bundles of betel leaves, five arecanuts,

1. I. A. XXIII, p. 29.

a cocoanut having three eyes, a *seer* of green rice, and cows' milk are wanted," replied to barber.

" He was supplied with all the things required for his part of the business. All the friends of Sāyana Baidya assembled, a small bower of plantain leaves was formed, festoons of cocoanut leaves were hung up, the inner part of the roof was ceiled, and the ground was covered with a carpet.

" The children of Sāyana Baidya together with the friends who were assembled, circumambulated the bower, the boys being seated within it. Then the pouring of rice on their heads began. First the barber poured it, next Sāyana Baidya, and last of all, Sāyana Baidyedi, mother of Kāntanna.

" Then the barber holding the left cheek by his hand, began his work on the right cheek of Kōṭi. The front part of his head he shaved and made figures of the sun and moon; and on the back of the head he made the figures of Bhīma and Arjuna. Thus the tonsure of Kōṭi Baidya was finished and he was lifted by the hand. Lamps were waved before his brother's face too in a plate filled with rubies. Coral was thrown on Cennaya's head, and his head too was shaved, and figures of the sun and moon formed on the front part, and figures of Bhīma and Arjuna on the back. The tonsure of both was thus over, and they were now to bathe themselves, and wash away the pollution of being shaved."¹

1. I. A. XXIII, p. 31.

'This ceremony of tonoure seems to have been common in ancient Tuluva. In the *Pāḍadāna* on the *Attāvara Doyyongūlu*, the two boys were also shaved in precisely the same manner by a barber also from above the Ghats. The barber with his box of razors and looking glass was asked to do his duty to the boys in the palace of Nāgaloka. "An English chair with four legs was placed in the middle of the *cāvaḍi*, two *jagana jōti* lamps were placed at the left and right of him, and a *seer* of rice and a cocoanut were placed before him. A conch-shell was blown and fly brushes were waved on both sides of him. The two boys sat there in undress, while pearls were sprinkled over them and a light adorned with corals was turned towards their faces. So all the ceremony was performed.

"Then the barber came, and placing a cup of water ready, he stood on the left side, and shaved the right side, and then he went to the right side, and shaved the left side, and also cut off the ends of the moustaches. He made a line for the eyebrows and put the sign of the sun and the moon on their hearts, and of Bhīma Rāksasa on their backs. He polished their toe-nails and cut their finger-nails. In this way did he shave them correctly from head to foot."¹

Likewise when king Dharma of Kāñci Kaḍanga saw a beard appearing on his cheeks, he immediately sent for the court barber Binnāḍi Kāra. Then the barber on coming to the palace, at once fell to work. "A

1. I. A. XXIII, p. 191.

European chair with four legs was placed in the middle of the floor. Two *jagana* lamps were placed on the left and right of it. One *seer* of rice and a cocoanut were put on a plantain leaf. And then the ringing of the bell was heard and a conch-shell was blown and swishes were waved over the king, who sat on the chair in half-dress. Pearls were cast, and lamps were waved before his face. Then the barber came to the king Dharma and shaved his face and then shaved him from head to foot''¹

And in all these instances the final question that remained to be answered was—How was one to atone for the sin of having touched a barber? The answer is given in the *Pāḍadāna* on *Kōti* and *Cennaya*, and on *Doyyongulu* "For this purpose (*i e*, of washing away the pollution of having been shaved) *Kōti* and *Cennaya* got ready the juice of several kinds of leaves growing in dry and wet paddy fields; and *uddu* and pods of green gram, and several substances for washing away oil, also a thousand pots of hot water and a thousand pots of cold water. They warmed themselves by bathing in the hot water, and cooled themselves by bathing in the cold water. They then went to a room where there was sandal wood, and ground a great deal of the sandal wood, and fully besmeared their bodies down to the waist with it, and then sat down to take their food."²

In the case of the royal children mentioned in the *Doyyongulu*, oil was rubbed and the heroes took their

1. *I A.* XXIII, pp. 97-98.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-52.

bath in a huge pan four hands in breadth. A *jattı* (lit. a wrestler, but here a person employed to rub oil) was sent for and oil was rubbed on them. A large pan, four hands in breadth, was placed under a white *kadika* tree near a tank built by one of the boys. A thousand pots of water were poured in and were warmed with twelve bundles of fire-wood, and a thousand pots of warm water were poured on their heads and then a thousand pots of cold water. Thus were they rubbed with oil and washed in water. Then their hair had to be rubbed with cloth made of silk, of the following kinds—*kaber*, black silk, *bober*, white silk; *sopu kambati*, *yır madure*; the silk which is so light that it flies off three hundred *gāvuḍas* at a breath, the silk that is soaked by a tear, and the silk which may be concealed between the finger and a nail¹

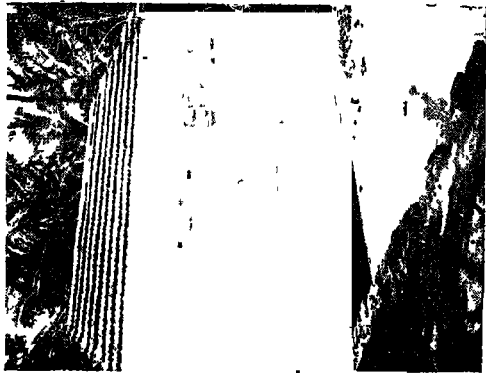
And when Kōti and Cennaya had played their part manfully, their turn came to quit the world. And in the great battle fought in the neighbourhood of Pañja and Eḍambūru, the heroic Kōti fell. Rukku Ballāḷa, son-in-law of the Eḍambūru Ballāḷa, on seeing the great soldier sitting down under a tree, galloped to the Ballāḷa's palace, and informed the Ballāḷa that the saviour of Eḍambūru was nearing his end. At once a palanquin was sent to fetch the hero. Kōti drank the tender cocoanuts given to him by the Ballāḷa, who, weeping, said—"O Kōti! You were a hero that was able to save my kingdom. Now the time of its downfall

1. *J. A.* XXIII, p. 191.

approaches ' But Kōti said—'Oh my lord ! We shall continue to assist you as we did in our lifetime in the day of battle. Only plant our dagger in the battle-field, and we shall fight, on your behalf, as spirits in the same manner as we did as men. In life we never gave up your cause ; therefore, after death, be assured, we shall not fail to assist you.' " ¹

In this parting speech of Kōti we have the essence of the Tuluva belief in spirits. Thus died the noble Kōti. But, the Pāḍadāna continues, Brahmā in heaven refused to admit the great soldier till he had brought his brother Cennaya along with him " Hearing these words, Kōti came back to the world. The younger brother came to the side of a deep well and looked down in it and saw his face reflected in the water " My brother fell in the battle. What is the use of my living ? " said Cennaya to himself So saying he struck his leg (head ?) against a rock and thus committed suicide. The news reached the Ballāla that Cennaya had committed suicide in the house of the physician Barma of the village of Sañje Mañje.² Then the wailing Ballāla "caused a mango and a jack tree growing one on each side of a river, to be cut. He caused a funeral pile to be raised in a corner of the burial ground, and had the body burnt. Then the two brothers went in the form of spirits to the throne of Brahmā, who said—'Do not approach the *gudi* Do not

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The Būdu of the Edambūru Ballāja

Photo by B. A. S] [Copyright

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The graves of Kōfi and Cennaya
at Edambūru

Photo by B. A. S] [Copyright

come into the yard. You must purify yourselves before you come to me'.

"Hearing the order, they came in the shape of aerial beings, to the Ballāla's mansion, and threw the handle of their dagger on the ground, and asked the Ballāla to purify them. On the ninth day of their death, the Ballāla caused the ashes of their dead bodies to be collected, and on the tenth, had the ceremony of *sāhya* performed. He planted three posts on the burial ground and covered them with clothes of different colours. Thus he caused all the funeral rites to be performed, in as grand a manner as would have been done for a royal Ballāla." Having thus purified themselves, they again approached the throne of Brahmā who, once again, refused to entertain them till they had washed themselves in the Ganges. When they had thus completely removed all stain of a bloody life, according to the story, "they came for the third time to the throne of Brahmā. Then they came into the yard and entered the *guḍi*. They stood on the right hand of Brahmā and became members of Brahmā's council, and were ever afterwards in the world as much honoured as Brahmā himself."¹

A grander funeral had been given to their mother Dēyi Baidyedi by the Ballāla of Parimle. When she died at the hands of her rival Birmaṇṇa Baidya, "she went to Kailāsa first and then went to Vaikuṇṭha. Wood for burning was placed at the burial ground, a

1. I. A. XXIII, pp. 90-91.

mango tree before and a jack tree behind, being cut down. Sixty bundles of sandal wood were put upon Dēyi and she was burnt with oil and *ghī*. Then her caste people were called and had to appoint a day for funeral ceremony. The day was appointed. On the third day after the burning, the ashes were gathered and on the fourteenth day the funeral ceremony was performed ”

Besides rice, palm juice and arrack, there were the various vegetables. Opium was not unknown to the people in early Tuluva. One of the epithets used by Kōṭi and Cennaya in the volley of abuse they poured upon the trembling Ballāḷa of Pañja was that he was “an opium-eating Ballāḷa and a *bhāṅg*-smoking Ballāḷa ”

Judged by the Pāḍadānas the Tuluvas seem to have been proficient in the art of cooking. The grand dinner given by the Ballāḷa of Parimale, to which we have to refer again, in honour of Dēyi Baidyedi, contained famous dishes. Even in the house of Sāyana Baidya there was no dearth of dishes. The two heroes Kōṭi and Cennaya sat down to take their dinner. “There were five hundred kinds of curries mixed with curds, and three hundred kinds of curries mixed with tamarind pickle, and green rice boiled in milk. They ate food mixed with *ghī*, washed their hands in whey, and chewed betel-leaves.”³

While going on long journeys, the Tuluvas carried food with them to last the time of their travel. Sambu

1. *I A* XXIV, p. 142.

2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 45.

3. *Ibid*, p. 36.

Kalkuda's daughter determined to find out the whereabouts of her brother, and got ready food for the journey. She "prepared for her brother a meal with one and a half *seer* of *ghī* and three pieces of jaggery; a dish with milk, and another mixed with curds; cakes made of rice, sugar, and cocoanut and fried with oil; rice pudding, and rice flour in a leaf. She took the *ghī* in a pot and tied up the rest in a bundle for her brother. For herself she baked bread and made some curries of vegetables, one and one half *seer* of *ghī*, three pieces of jaggery. She tied them all together in a leaf and combed her hair, putting a chaplet of pearls on her head."¹ On reaching Kārkala she heard of the sad plight of her brother, and then she ran to Yēnūr (Venūru) where she threw her own and her brother's parcel into a river.²

On ordinary occasions the Tuluvas lived on a simpler diet. Even heroes like Kōti and Cennaya were content with plain food. The insulting words of the Ballāla of Pañja were read out to the twin heroes, and the poor messenger received as his reward a garland of the very palm-leaves upon which the message had been written but burnt at both the ends¹ Then Kōṭi and Cennaya took their bath. "They bathed and washed away the oil. They took a little rice-water and they made preparations for going out to battle with all the weapons of war."³

1. & 2 I. A. XXV, pp. 224-225.

3 Ibid, XXIII, p. 88.

The Tuluvas had their own code of etiquette Kōṭi and Cennaya, on reaching the house of Payya of Palli, were informed by his wife that he was away drawing toddy from the *kadamba* and date trees in the great forest called Sanka in the east. They asked her when he would return back. "He goes out in the morning," said she, "and returns at noon. If you are Brahmans wearing the thread, sit down on the round platform of the cocoanut tree bearing red fruit. If you belong to the tribe called the Vakketars, sit down in the shed, built by the poor man. If you belong to our caste, sit down on the swinging cot within the house," said the woman. "Hearing this they approached the house and said—'We will not enter into a house in which there are no males' They spread out their dirty blanket within the shed and sat on it"¹

In another version of the story the same woman speaks thus—"He will return at noon, and if he goes again at midday, he will return back in the evening," said she. "If you are Brahmans, who wear the thread, there is a bench with three legs at the round seat under the red cocoanut. Sit down on the bench. If you are Vakketars and Bāragas, I have spread a mat over the seat at the *sampika* tree. You can sit down on that. If you are my caste-people, there is a small cottage. Come and sit down there," she said.²

It was improper for men to enter a house where there were no males. That was the reason why, on

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 42.

2. *Ibid.* XXIV, p. 212.

receiving water at the hands of the fair-looking wife of Payya, Kōti and Cennaya said—"Before we drink the water given by you, you must first tell us in what place you were born, the tribe you belong to, the names of your mother and father and the *bhūta* you worship.¹

We have already read about the headmen of the caste who made all the people sit in rows and those who had come uninvited in the rear at the marriage feast given by Sāma Ālva. A dinner to the caste people was obligatory on wealthy persons. For if a Billavar failed to give it, he was punished with excommunication. That was the reason why Sāma Ālva requested the Ballāla to help him.

How the heroes had to dress themselves with *kāyēri karpōli* clothes, and to carry *pañcōli* betel leaves from a vine growing on an arecanut tree and *mundoli* from a vine on a mango tree before going into the presence of the Ballāla, has been likewise described above.

In addition to these rules the Tuluvas observed other regulations. For example, Billavar women could not put the end of their cloth on the left side and could not wear jewels called *muḷḷukoppu* on the ears. It was a great privilege, indeed, which the Billavars as a whole received at the hands of the Ballāla of Perimaḷe when he permitted Dēyi Baidyedi "to put on the left side the end of the cloth tied round the middle, one pair of ear-rings and also *muḷḷukoppu* ear-rings," and a jewel for her nose, and bangles of gold joined by a golden cord for

1. I. A. XXIII, p. 43.

the hand, a *dvāria* for both hands, a *barapatte* cloth and a *bājibanda* for her hands. He bestowed the right of *sallabeja*, as the wearing of the cloth was called, and the *koranaseji* ear-rings together with the other presents on her when she had finished partaking of a dinner given by him on the eve of her departure from the royal *bāḍu*.¹

Social distinctions were also observed on the playground and in a *bhūta sthāna*. The racing buffaloes, according to rules which are still observed, could only be let into the field in the order we have elsewhere given in this treatise. If during a devil-dance the Pombada who personates the devil, "offends a rich Bunt by omitting any of his numerous titles, he is made to suffer for it."² The Bunts as well as the Billavars are very particular about their titles and the social rank they occupy in the village. The story of Kōti and Cennaya illustrates the intolerable attitude which the Bunts bore towards the Billavars—the jealousy which the Bunt Buddyanta felt at the rise to power of the two Billavar boys Kōti and Cennaya, and of the final victory of Billavar heroism over Bunt aristocracy.

It was customary for landowners to treat their tenants with great consideration. This explains why Dēyi Baidyedi received so hospitably the coolies who got her a palanquin and a letter from the Ballāla. When Vaṇṇapa (Aṇṇapa ?) Bhaṇḍāri took the letter to

1. *I A. XXIV*, p 121, ns. (8) & (9).

2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 31.

the barber on the Ghats, "Sāyana Baidya paid him the expenses of the journey and of his family during his absence."¹

12. A PICTURE OF A TULUVA VILLAGER'S HOUSEHOLD

A picture of a Tuluva house is given in the *Pāḍa-dāna* called *Kōṭi Cennaya*. It is that of the cowardly Payya Baidya of Palli. The Brahman who met the heroes on the way, described Payya's house thus:—
"There is a gate of bamboos and a spacious cowpen. The house has an upper storey and the wall a pump. The *manōḷi* (*coccina indica*) creeper has been trained up a double pandal. The cocoanut tree bearing red fruit has a circular basin round it, and in front of the house there is a shed with a thick roof."²

In another context we have the following concerning a Tuluva house—"A large cowshed, a house with an upper storey, a well covered with copper plates; a seat round a red cocoanut, another seat round which (there is) a *sarōḷi* tree on the northern side. These are the marks. If you want to go there, you had better pass the yard at the small opening made with two posts fastened together, and call the house people."³

In such a house which the two heroes had seen there was always a corner for preserving articles during the monsoon. The twin heroes were playing

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 31.

2. *Ibid*, p. 42.

3. *Ibid*, XXIV, p. 212.

the game of cashew nuts with the children of Buddyanta. And the children of Buddyanta suffered defeat at their hands. Then Buddyanta himself came and took by force all the cashew nuts away from the brothers. And he "took them home and tying them in a cloth, hung them up in the smoke!"

How corn was preserved for the rainy season is described in another version of the same Pāḍadāna. Kōṭi and Cennaya were in the house of Buddyanta, who seeing them resolved himself immediately into a lump of flesh, and got himself covered with some torn pieces of matting behind a hollow post. "Buddyanta's wife! What is that in the torn pieces of matting?" asked they. "O children! They are seeds of the months *suggi* and *yenelu*," replied she. "Which are of *yenelu*?" asked Koti. "Which are of *suggi*?" asked Cennaya. "Let us see whether they are of *suggi* or of *yenelu*," (they said).²

As regards furniture in a Tuluva household, we have a few details. A swinging cot of pretty large dimensions was a prominent piece of furniture. When Ellūr Abbe, the priestess in charge of the temple that belonged to the *cāvadi* of Parimale, had finished blessing the twin heroes, Sāyana Baidya "took them to Erajha and made them sit on a swinging cot hung from a rafter."³

In a Brahman's house, however, there was some more furniture. The good Brahman who prophesied

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 30.

2. *Ibid.* XXIV, p. 146.

3. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 142.

all about the career of the twin heroes, went in and "boiled the milk and reduced it to one *seer*. Then taking with him a stool made of the wood of the tree called *kaḍali*, ornamented with flowers of silver, and another of gold set with precious stones, he came to the two brothers"¹

Some houses contained screens. The little child Koḍababbu lay crying in the hut. And the master of the Koḍange family hearing it came to the hut and called the child's mother. But on receiving no reply, "he came to the outer screen called *giḍke* and peered in." And then he saw the dead bodies of the child's parents.²

Hand-lamps were used by the Tuluvas. When the Ballāḷa of Mardāl heard from his sleeping apartment the dreadful coughing of his buffaloes, he woke up his wife saying—"Be quick and light a lamp!" At this his wife quickly got up and lighted a lamp and brought it to her husband. Then he took the hand-lamp and went to the cow-pen.³ They were evidently the same type of brass hand-lamps used by the people today.

A picturesque detail relating to a Tuluva household is that which concerns cows coming home after grazing on the hills. Kinni Dāru, the sister of the heroes and the wife of Paḷḷi Bannaya, on recognizing them as her brothers, "held Cennaya by her left hand and Kōṭi

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 41.

2. *Koḍadabbu*, op. cit.

3. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 51.

by her right and led them both into the house and seated them on the swinging cot. Then she held a little grass in her hand and called home the cow that had gone out to graze. She put the calf to suck and drew two *seers* of milk.”¹

Besides the cow there were, of course, the buffaloes about which we have seen something in the description of the *kambala*, and the cocks, with which Aḍūru Baidya hurried to the cock-fight, and the dogs, without which the Tuluva Ballālas never went a-hunting. Two other domestic creatures may be noted—the swine which the Tuluvas have made famous in their *bhūta* Pañjurli; and the pigeons, the colour of which was taken to be the standard colour of palanquins and wallets.

What an intimate knowledge they possessed of the domestic animals, especially of cattle, can be inferred from the story of the *bhūta* Pañjurli. Kāntu Śetti, Kadmana Śetti and Mattu Marbala Śetti,—all children of a man called Guru Sarapoli and Gollaramma Dēyar, determined to trade by sea. They took to the ship for two years. But profit they could get none. So they began to trade in bullocks.

“ ‘Where do bullocks come from? And whence do cocks come?’ asked they. ‘Cocks come from Kokkaḍa, and elephants from Ānegundi (Vijayanagara) and bullocks from the Ghats,’ they were told. So they went to buy bullocks. They kept three hundred

1. I. A. XXIII. p. 43.

rupees in a bag and tied up three hundred rupees in their upper garments. They went to the herd of cows. There were three thousand bullocks, but they found only two good ones amongst them. They asked the price. 'A thousand rupees for the front leg and a thousand rupees for the hind leg. Altogether two thousand rupees,' said the Ganda (Gauda?). 'What is there important about them?' asked they.

"There are certain points in the oxen, viz., a white tail, a white spot on the forehead and points in the four legs, a white tongue, a bent horn and a certain colour in the belly. These are the points in these oxen," said the Ganda (Gauda).¹

Although the Tulu people were given to the use of the rice gruel called *gañji*, yet they do not seem to have favoured much the custom of taking three meals a day. How demeaning it was to take three meals a day can be gathered from the shower of abuse which Kōti and Cennaya poured upon the quaking Ballāla of Pañjā. "O you flat-nosed Ballāḷa! You crooked-eared Ballāla of Pañja!...You Ballāla that takes three meals a day!..." Further, when they had been to the house of Buddyanta, after murdering him in his own field, they were met by his wife who invited them to come inside and taste their dishes. "O Rāma! Rāma! Brahmati! Woman! Hear

1. I. A. XXV, p. 273. The Ghats referred to here are the hill-stations of Subrahmanya and Śīrāḍi which are even now great centres of cattle trade. B. A. S.

2. I. A. XXIII, p. 45.

us ! We came here having finished our meal of boiled rice-water. We take our meals twice a day, but not thrice.”¹

13 THE BŪḌU OR MANORIAL HOUSE OF A TULUVA CHIEFTAIN

That a Tuluva chieftain's house must have been considerably large can be made out from the descriptions given of many *būḍus* (Kannāḍa *biḍu*) in the *Pāḍadānas*. Kōṭi and Cennaya had finished their toilet and were ready to proceed to the house of their master the Ballāla of Parimaḷe. They got into a palanquin of the colour of parrots, and “ each of them tied to his waist a dagger like that of Rāma. Thus did they go to the Ballāla's house. They approached the gate, and entered the enclosure, and, passing through the yard in front of the house, went into a room set apart for the use of bards, poets and such like people. They then went to a room on the western side of the house, and climbed into the upper storey by means of a rope ”²

A *būḍu* had many rooms. When Dēyī Baidyedī arrived at the *būḍu* of the Ballāla of Parimaḷe, he said— “ There are seven rooms in my *būḍu*. One of them do you set apart for her and let her bring forth her children in that room.”³

Of the many apartments in the *būḍu* the audience hall, the music hall, the hall of the bards, and the kitchen hall were most prominent. Before Dēyī

1. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 149

2. *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 32.

3. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 29.

Baidyedi departed from the Ballāla's *būdu*, he said—
 “O Dēyi! Do you hear me! You have come to my palace; therefore, you must take your food of pearl-like rice.” There were curries prepared with curds of five hundred sorts, with tamarind of three hundred sorts, with cocoanut of a thousand sorts. Pickles of limes known as *pottikañci*, *nāringa*, and so on, together with tender bamboos and *kavaḍe* berries. *Yelluri* and *māpala* were prepared, and, moreover, cakes of five or six kinds and a cake of oil-colour too.

“‘Now, Dēyi, you had better take your food with *ghī*, and wash your hands with milk!’ said the Ballāla, and ordered his servants to give Kāntanna and Sāyana water, and to make Dēyi sit down in the middle! And then Dēyi and others took their food with *ghī* and washed their hands with milk and chewed betel-nuts.”¹

The reply given by Cennaya of Eḍambūru to the heroes who had asked him to introduce them to the Ballāla of Edambūru, enables us to find out something about the rules that governed a *būdu* as regards the introduction of strangers and officials to the Tuluva lord

“‘I can,’ said Cennaya, and he took them to his own house. ‘You must stay here today, and I will introduce you tomorrow. Today you must take your meals in my house, tomorrow I shall introduce you at the noon-day *levée*. In the morning I shall go and ask

1. *I. A.* XXIV, pp. 120-121.

his permission,' said Cennaya, and went off at once to the Ballāla's verandah."¹

The Tuḷuva Ballāla was a chieftain of great authority. The uncle of Kōṭi and Cennaya advised them to go to the Eḍambūru (Parimle?) *cāvaḍi* and "to get a present in addition to the former one, such as *sellabeja* and *sattaneja*". So the heroes went to the Ballāla's *būḍu*, and, as we have seen, asked for a gift of paddy fields among which were those reserved for Government taxes.²

A Tuluva Ballāla knew how to be strict with his dependents. The Ballāla of Mardāl, who wished to build a *sthāna* for the *bhūta* Pañjurli, commanded his tenants thus—"Therefore, tomorrow all of you must come together, one or two hundred of you must join together and bring the trees to my house. The man who does not come will be fined. And if he does not pay the fine, I will see that nobody gives him *chunam* or fire."³

There was another mode of punishment which the nephew of the Eḍambūru Ballāla used against the man who had stolen Kōṭi's dagger on the battlefield. While that great hero lay wearied on the memorable battlefield of Pañja, a man called Kāḷu Nāyaka ran away with the dagger belonging to Kōṭi. At once the Eḍambūru Ballāla sent Dēvanageri Ballāla, his nephew, after the

1. *I. A* XXIII, p. 44.

2. *Ibid*, XXIV, p. 150.

3. *Ibid*, XXVI, p. 65, *Chunam* and *fire* refer to social excommunication, See *supra* pp. 320, n. (1).

thief. "When Dēvanageri Ballāḷa arrived, Kālu Nāyaka was going away with the dagger but he caught Kālu Nāyaka and tied him to a horse's feet and made the horse run away. Then Kālu's face and nose was broken and he died."¹ The part played by the spies of the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru has been already narrated in a previous page

(1) The most noteworthy sport of a Ballāḷa was his hunt. People judged, as we saw, the ability and prowess of a Ballāḷa by the hunting expeditions he arranged in the course of the year. The Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe, for example, was reckoned to be a famous hunter. When the day of the hunt approached, "the Ballāḷa called his clerk and told him to notify to all his tenants, his intention of going on a hunt, that they might be present at his *būdu* on such and such a day. All were ordered to bring their weapons and come prepared for the hunt. So they came on the appointed day. The Ballāḷa saw them. They were about two hundred able-bodied men that assembled before the *būdu*."² They were ordered to take their evening meal that day in the *būdu*. "So, food was prepared for all of them, and they sat down in rows according to their caste.....The next day the Ballāḷa called them and examined their weapons and instruments, their bows, arrows, and snares, and called Malla, the keeper of dogs, to bring the dogs."³ The dogs were given "rice

(1) I. A. XXIV, p. 271

(2) & (3) *Ibid*, XXV, p. 304.

mixed with milk.” “Afterwards he called Golla, and examined the guns and bullets and ammunition, and saw that everything was in the best possible condition. Then he called Paddyala, and told him to show the bows and arrows, because they were in a very efficient condition. And, in this manner, he examined everything himself, the snares, the darts, and many other instruments of hunting. The men, every one of them, praised the superiority of his own instrument, and boasted of his former exploits. In this manner time passed, and as it had become late, the hunt was postponed for the next day. The Ballāḷa said—‘Tomorrow, very early in the morning, before the crows alight on the ground, we must start for the hunt. Today all of you must take your meals in my *bāḍu*. In the mean time you must all sharpen your weapons. Your darts, arrows, and all sorts of weapons must be in the best condition possible.’

“At this all were very glad, and every man went to mind his own business. So, on the next day, very early in the morning, they all started for the hunt with bows and arrows, darts and guns and various other instruments of destruction, and took many dogs with them. Thus they went out to hunt. The Ballāḷa went along with them. When they reached the great forest of Parimale, the day began to dawn. The Ballāḷa gave them orders. He stationed half of them with the dogs in the forest, telling them to make as much noise as possible and to frighten the wild beasts and drive them before them.

They took great sticks and struck at thickets and bushes, and made a great noise. Though they were quite tired they did not find any wild beasts. So they returned quite tired and without finding a single wild beast and said to the Ballāḷa—‘It seems that the moment of our starting was not auspicious. Otherwise in this great forest, where tigers, bears, and wolves, and such wild beasts abound, we must have found some wild beasts.’ Then the Ballāḷa made a vow and said—‘If I get at least one wild beast, I will give a *tambila* to the *bhūta* in our house.’ After the Ballāḷa had said this, they again started and began to beat the thickets and bushes and halloed, and yelled and made as much noise as possible. Then a big boar came in sight, and the dogs at once gave chase and overtook it; and as it came to the place where the hunters were stationed, Golla the hunter fired at it and the bullet took effect and the boar fell down and rolled about, and writhed in agony. Then they speared it and killed it.”¹

The desire to preserve peace in his dominions and to maintain efficiency among hunters led the Ballāḷa to proclaim prizes to those who shot the wild beasts in the forest. Kōṭi met Buddyanta and told him how had Cennaya been in their presence, Buddyanta would have been dealt with in a very severe manner by his younger brother. “You praise your brother. Has he conquered the land. hunting a tiger? Has he been

1. I. A. XXV, p. 305.

presented with a *seer* of gold rings for having killed a tiger? Has he been covered with peacock's feathers? Has he fought a battle, riding on a nooseless horse? Has he put the sky above the earth?" said Buddyaṃta.

Opulence was a special feature of Ballāla's royal household. The *sallabeja* and *sattaneja* rights, the golden ear-rings and the jewels for the nose, the balls of gold and the *bājibanda*, the *dvāria* and the *barapatte* given by the Ballāla to Dēyi Baidyedi are a proof of the generous manner in which the Tuluva Ballālas rewarded persons who had done them some special service. It was not only distinguished visitors that tasted the opulence of the Ballālas. Even the servants and tenants of the *būdu* were recipients of rewards. To the carpenters and other wage-earners who had helped him to construct the *sthāna* of the *bhūta* Pañjurli, the Ballāla of Mardāl "gave them their due" and "he also gave them presents and sent them away."

How paternally a Ballāla, and especially the Ballāla's wife, looked after the material condition of all, including the servants and cattle, can be understood from the Pāḍadāna of the *bhūta* Pañjurli. *Bhūta* Pañjurli wanted somehow to make the Ballāla of Mardāl realize the necessity of building a *sthāna* for the new *bhūta*, and so waited "till sunset and afterwards entered into the cowpen and kept quiet in a corner, till the cowherds had collected all the cattle

1. I. A. XXIV, p. 148.

2. *Ibid*, XXVI, p. 309, 65.

into the cowpen. In the meantime the night came on, and it was time for the master of the house to take his meal. Then all the servants of the house, the bondmen, and those who had undertaken work on contract and day-labourers and rice men and rice watermen, all these came to take their meals. Then the bondmen went into the cowpen to give fodder to the cattle, and gave rice water to the buffaloes and oxen; and after they had drunk, they put the watering trough upside down; and then put straw and green grass before them; and making everything comfortable for the cattle went their way. In the meantime, the mistress of the house having served food to her husband, called the bondmen. 'O bondmen, bring your vessels and take your food.'

"Then they called their wives from their huts and told them to bring the vessels. Then they took their children on their hips and the vessels on their heads, and each came to the *būdu* and called the mistress of the house—'O mistress, mistress! Please bring me the rice. I have brought the vessel. I have no one in my hut. I have kept paddy on the fire to be boiled and there is nobody to look after the fire.' At this the mistress quickly brought the rice and gave it to the bondmen. She also brought a big spoon of cocoanut shell and put four spoonsful of rice and four spoonsful of *gañji* for each, and sent away the bondwomen to their huts. And after all had eaten and finished, all lay down to sleep."¹

1. I. A. XXVI, p. 51.

Appendix A

THE GREEK FARCE WITH OLD KANNADA PASSAGES

Summary.—1. Introduction. 2. Summary of the Plot 3. Criticism of the Kannaḍa passages. 4. Scene of action. 5. The Greek Farce with Old Kannada passages.

1. INTRODUCTION

At the instance of the Biblical Archaeological Association at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, excavations were carried out in 1899 and a large find of papyri was made. In 1903 Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt with the assistance of other scholars published with translations the finds in the III Volume called "The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Part III." The following is one of the classical fragments in which many words in an Indian language occur. This piece was forwarded to me by Dr. R. Shama Sastry in February 1926. And I sent him early in March a rendering of the words in the unknown language together with a note on the probable scene of action. A thorough re-examination of the farce while in the British Museum in 1929-1931, and fresh investigation in the neighbourhood of the scene of action made after my return from Europe, enable me to give the following interpretation of the Farce.¹ I should like in this connection to express my deep gratitude to my learned friend Pandit K. B. Rāmakṛṣṇayya of Uḍipi without whose help it

1 Since Dr. Shama Sastry's interpretation appeared in his *Annual Report of the Mys. Arch. Dept* for 1926, two versions of the Greek-Kannada Farce have been published: one by Mr. S. Srikanthaya in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, and the other by Mr. Govind Pai in the *Prabuddha Karmāṭaka* for 1930. Mr. Pai is right when he says that the passages are in Kannada. B. A. S.

would not have been possible for me to render this piece into Kannada.

2. SUMMARY OF THE PLOT

A Greek lady had fallen into the hands of an Indian king. A party of Greeks arrived in a ship, and after making the Indian king and his followers fully drunk, managed to escape with the Greek lady (For a fuller treatment of the plot and an account of the characters in the Farce, the reader is referred to Dr Sastry's interpretation of the Farce as given in his *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1926*, pp 11 seq.)

3. CRITICISM OF THE KANNADA PASSAGES IN THE FARCE

Hultzsch was the first to declare that the passages in the unknown language were in Kannada.¹ Dr. Sastry has given a tentative rendering of the Kannada passages in the in the same Report for 1926 But Dr. Barnett rejected them completely.² Dr. Barnett's arguments may be summarized thus—

We have no direct knowledge of Kannada of such an early period, viz., of the second century A D or possibly earlier The earliest work in Hale Kannada is Kaviśvara's *Kavirājamārga*. Dr Barnett lays down three criteria by which we are to judge the value of the rendering of the alledged passages into Kannada These are the following— Firstly, if the proposed reconstruction of the passage in the unknown language agrees with the oldest classical Kannada texts, we may provisionally accept it; if it shows features of the mediaeval or modern dilects, we must reject it.

1. Hultzsch *J. R. A. S.* for 1904, pp. 390 seq.

2. Barnett, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XII, P. I-II, pp. 13-15. See also Keith, *History of Skt. Literature*, p. x. (Oxford 1928) where Dr. Keith likewise does not believe that the passages are in Kannada. B. A. S.

Secondly, the interpretation must make good sense, be natural and not forced. And, thirdly, the interpretation should not unduly alter the text. Judged by these standards, the interpretation given by Hultsch is on all points unproven. While admitting that the language used in the Farce was Indian, Dr. Barnett concluded that "it has yet to be interpreted."

There cannot be any doubt that these unassailable and perfectly sound arguments can be substantiated by other evidence which goes to prove that Kannada as a prominent language was non-existent in the Karnāṭaka, and in Tuluva as well perhaps, in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is well known that Prākṛt was used in the Aśokan inscriptions discovered in Mysore, that all the Edicts of that monarch were engraved in the Brahmi script; that Prākṛt was the language not only of the Śātavāhanas but also of the early Kadambas as well; and that the earliest epigraphs discovered in the Karnāṭaka, as for instance those relating to the migration of Bhadrabāhu, the Bāṇas, and the Kadambas, were all engraved in the Sanskrit language and not in the Kannaḍa language¹.

Notwithstanding the above facts, it is permissible to bring forward a few considerations in regard to the antiquity of the Kannada language. While it is no doubt true that Prākṛt was the official language of the earliest sovereigns of Karnāṭaka, it has yet to be proved that that was the language of the masses as well. If this is admitted, then one is led to assume that the people of the Karnāṭaka, and, therefore, of Tuluva, spoke a language which was other than Prākṛt. Indeed, there are good grounds to suppose that

1. *Mys. Archl. Rep. for 1929*, pp. 52, 56, 57, *My. Arch. Rep. for 1928*, pp. 10-11, *Mys. Insc.* p. 304; *E. C. II. No. 1*, p. 1, *ibid.* VII. Sk. 263, 264, pp. 142, *ibid.* XI. Intr. pp. 1-5, Mk. 14, 21, 31, pp. 91-96.

Karnāṭaka was known to the westerners, and that Kannaḍa as a dialect existed in the early centuries of the Christian era. While dealing with the question of the antiquity of Tuluva, it was shown that in the first and second centuries of the Christian era, Ālvakheda was known to the Greeks under the name of Oloikhora. The ending of this as well as other names, e. g., Basarūru, Punnāta,¹ etc. were certainly Kannaḍa endings.

The fact that Roman coins of Augustus Caesar have been found at Candravalli sufficiently proves that in the early centuries of the Christian era, there was commercial intercourse between the Karnāṭaka and the western world.²

The most convincing proof of the existence of the Kannada language prior to the times of Kavīśvara is afforded in the Halmidī stone inscription which we have mentioned in connection with the foreign relations of the Ālupas. This stone inscription definitely carries the antiquity of the Kannada language to the fifth century A. D. It is not too much to suppose that the Kannada language may have existed at least one or two centuries earlier, viz., in the fourth and third centuries A. D.

The Ālupa records themselves, as we have amply demonstrated, in the previous pages, prove that Kannada was a spoken language in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D., i. e., two or three centuries earlier than the time of the author of *Kavirājamārga*. Indeed, a good many stone inscriptions in the Kannada language ranging from about

1. As regards Punnāta, Cf. Saletore, *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 309-317 where the antiquity of this ancient kingdom has been described.

2. *My. & Coerg.*, p. 15, n. (1); Krishna, *Excavations at Chandra-valli*, p. 25; *Q. J. M. S.* I. pp. 38-39, X p. 251; XV. p. 256; XVIII. p. 294; *Ep. Car. Coerg Ins.*, p. 103 (1914).

the sixth century A. D. till the beginning of the eighth century A. D.,¹ conclusively show that the antiquity of the Kannaḍa language can be dated to, at least, four centuries earlier than the age of the Kaviśvara. Under these circumstances, it is extremely doubtful whether we can maintain that we "have no direct knowledge of Kanarese of a period earlier than that ascribed to the Hale Kannaḍa work *Kavirājamārga*."

Any reconstruction of the Kannaḍa passages in the Greek Farce must agree not only with the known classical Kannaḍa canons but, we may venture to add, with a few known facts of the region the history of which we have outlined in this treatise. Here it is interesting to observe how one or two statements made in the Farce agree with the historical facts we have mentioned above.

The first point to be noted in this connection is that the Farce speaks of the Malpe Nāyaka. Epigraphical evidence amply proves the existence of Nāyakas for the cities of Udayāvara and Kolalagiri. That Malpe had a Nāyaka is, therefore, not at all unlikely or unhistorical. Whether we have to assume that the term Malpe Nāyaka was one of the personal designations of the king mentioned in the Farce, is not certain; but the Farce only confirms the evidence of epigraphs concerning the existence of a Nāyaka over a city. In other words, it adds to the testimony of the epigraphs in regard to the municipal character of some of the ancient towns of Tuluva.

The reason why Malpe had a Nāyaka is to be found in the fact that it was a harbour of first-rate importance. Indeed, undeveloped and uncared-for as it is to-day, Malpe is still one of the safest harbours for coastal vessels on the western coast today. The appearance of the Greeks on the

1. *Mys. Ins.* pp. 186, 305, *E. C.* II. Nos. 4-9, 12, 31, pp. 3-7

shore of Malpe was because it was one of the trade centres of ancient Tuluva. As against this it might be objected that Ptolemy does not mention it, and that, therefore, it was unknown to the Greeks. But we may remember that Ptolemy's knowledge of the trade centres of Tuluva was not personal, and that he may have confounded Ālvakheda with Malpe itself.

Further, there are two other considerations which we may mention before passing on to the scene of action of the Farce. The Farce confirms the antiquity of the Ālupas as proved by the Halmidi stone inscription and the early stone records of the Western Cālukyas and the Gangas. A sculptured stone in one of the private houses at Udayāvara near the ancient Ganapati temple contains the figure of a king wearing the sacred thread and the crown, but fighting against an unknown enemy. This strikingly corroborates the evidence of the Farce that the ruler mentioned in it wore the sacred thread.

Moreover, the Farce confirms likewise the Śaivite religion of the Ālupas.

We may incidentally note here that the evil of drinking which is a noteworthy feature of the Farce, is particularly pointed out in the later inscription of Kundavarmarasa II in which, as we have seen, the *surā pāna* (*kṛto-*) *doṣo* is explicitly stated to have been removed by the king. Whether we are to suppose that the evil of drinking was common among the Ālupa kings, and whether it was finally removed by Kundavarmarasa II cannot be made out.¹

1. It need not be imagined that since the king in the Farce is described to have worn the sacred, he was necessarily a Brahman. No doubt the names of the mediaeval Ālupas end in *varman*. But while we are certain of their having been Śaivites, it has yet to be proved that they were Brahmans. This is the reason why drinking seems to have been in vogue amongst them.

Finally, another trifling detail is the remarkable identity between the name of the river Pscholicus given in the Farce and the name Śivāluka mentioned in the *Padma Purāṇa*. Thus in the *Padma Purāṇa*.—

Nadhyah̐ punya-jalāḥ tatra Gangā-ca bahudhā gatā |
Sukumārī Kumārī-ca Sitā S'ivodakā (S'ivālukā,
S'ivolūkā) tathā ||

Mahānadī-ca bho viprāḥ-tathā-maṇi-jalā-nadī |
Ikṣuvardhānikā-ca eva nadī munivarāḥ smrtāḥ ||

In the above passage two rivers of Tuluva are mentioned before Śivāluka—the Kumārī and the Sitā. It is probable that Śivāluka was another and an earlier name of the Pāpanāsinī upon which Udipi may be said to lie. In that case, it may be that Śivāluka was the name given to the river because it passed through, or was associated with, Śivalgi which comprised quite a considerable part of modern Udipi and Malpe.

4 THE SCENE OF ACTION

This brings us to the scene of action of the Farce. We believe that it was laid in the neighbourhood of Malpe itself either at modern Bāhadurgadha or at Oḍabhāṇdeśvara. Of these the former has lost all traces of its ancient Śaivite worship. For not only has it, like many a Śaivite centre in Tuluva, passed into the hands of the Vaiṣṇavites, but lost its Vaiṣṇavite traces as well, probably after it passed into the hands of the Mysore Sultans in

As regards Greek women coming to the western coast of India in the second century A.D., we may note that there is evidence of their presence in the neighbourhood of the *caitya* cave at Karle. (Vats, E. I., XVIII, pp. 325-329). There is nothing improbable in the Greeks visiting the coast of Tuluva in the same century B. A. S.

1. *Padma Purāṇa*, Adhyāya VIII. vv. 30-31, p. 121.

the eighteenth century A.D.¹ It is not unlikely that the scene mentioned in the Farce was laid at Odabhāṇḍeśvara itself.² The modern Vaiṣṇavite temple at Odabhāṇḍeśvara was certainly Śaivite in origin, as the images of Īśvara lying in the neighbourhood of the temple amply prove. The name *kānana* which is still applied to the entire region of Malpe round about the temple of Īśvara as far as Koḍavūru, unmistakably refers to the fact that it was covered by a forest in early days. Here around the temple of Īśvara at Odabhāṇḍeśvara the Greeks may have come, and here it was perhaps that the events mentioned in the Farce were enacted. As regards the image of the "Moon Goddess," all that we may venture to say is that the Greeks confounded the image of the Saviouress (i.e., of the Buddhist goddess Tārā) with an image of the Moon Goddess of whom the Hindu religion knows nothing.³

With these few considerations before us, we may now proceed to give a reconstruction of the Kannada passages

1. The image of Ganapati and the *linga* which had been at Oḍabhāṇḍeśvara are now in private houses at Malpe proper, and the image of Hanumanta of that same place has been taken to Oḍabhāṇḍeśvara. B. A. S.

2. The etymology of the word Odabhāṇḍeśvara is doubtful. Popular tradition derives it thus—*ōḍa-bhāṇḍa-Īśvara*-ship-vessel-Īśvara, and people say that the incident of the ship-wreck mentioned in the *Madhva-vijaya* took place here. B. A. S.

3. Mr. Govinda Pai's assumption that Udayāvara itself was the scene of action is inadmissible. (*Prabuddha Karnāṭaka*, XI. No. pp. 37-40). We cannot conceive of an Ālupa king falling into the hands of a party of foreigners in Udayāvara itself or in a temple near that city. The ruins of the palace of the Ālupas lie so close to the sea-shore that it is improbable that the drinking bout and its consequences could have happened there without the people of the city knowing it. Further, the explicit reference to the forest from which the women emerged after a hunting expedition, precludes any idea of our associating Udayāvara with the scene of action. B. A. S.

in the Farce, admitting that is only provisional in character.

5. A TENTATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GREEK FARCE
WITH OLD KANNADA PASSAGES

B. Lady Charition, rejoice with me at my escape !

A. Great are the gods

B. What gods, fool (?) .

A. Cease, fellow.

D Wait for me here and I will go and bring the ship
to anchor.

A. Go ? For see, here come their women from the chase.

B Oh ! What huge bows they have !

A woman. Kraunou.¹

Another. Lalle.²

Another Laitalianta Lalle.³

Another. Kotakos anab, Iosara ⁴

B. Hail !

All. Laspathia ⁵

B. Ah ! Lady help !

A. Alemaka !⁶

All Alemaka ⁷

B By Athena, there is no (harm) from us

A. Wretch, they took you for an enemy and nearly
shot you

1. *Kareṭā nāv.* Shall we shoot ?

2. *Lalle.* (Warning her).

3 *Elē tāḷ antāl lalle.* Lalle asks you to wait ? (Is it not so ?)

4 *Akō tako (tago) sanab iyo sara.* Lo ! Take the string of
hemp. Give the arrow !

5 *I (vi) lāsapatī ā* The Buffoon ! Ah !

6. *Ālēm akhā.* Is he (the proper) person (to be shot), Sister ?

7. *Alla emmakhā.* No, our sister !

B. I am always in misfortune. Will you them.....to
 the river Psolichus?¹

A. As you like (Drums) (B. ...porade²)

All Minei.³

F Lady Charition, I see the wind is rising, so that we
 may cross the Indian Ocean and escape. So enter
 and fetch your property, and if you can, carry off
 one of the offerings to the Goddess.

A. Prudence, fellow! Those in need of salvation must
 not accompany their petitions to the gods with
 sacrilege. For how will the gods listen to men
 who try to win mercy with wickedness?

B. Don't you touch? I will fetch it.

D. Fetch your own things then

A. I do not need them either, but only to see my
 father's face

D Enter, then; and do you serve them.....and give
 them their wine strong, for here they come.

B I think they are the daughters of swine: these too
 I will get rid of (Drums.)

All. A1 Arminthi⁴ (Drums.)

B. They also have run away to the Psolichus.

C. Yes; but let us get ready, if we are to escape.

B Lady Charition, get ready, if you can take under
 your arm one of the offerings to the goddess.

A Hush! Those in need of salvation must not
 accompany their petitions to the gods with

1 This may have been the river Pāpanāṣīnī (ancient Śivāluka?).

2. Against the name of A. is the letter B and the word *porade*
(horate, horude). If it is meant as a word spoken by B., then, the
 meaning seems to be "start, then". But if applied to A., the mean-
 ing probably is "I am starting, ready".

3. *Miyōnē*. Shall we take our bath?

4. *Ey ār mindī(r)*. Have all of you taken your bath?

sacrilege. For how will they listen to the prayers of those who are about to gain mercy by wickedness? The property of the goddess must remain sacred.

- B. Don't you touch; I will carry it.
 A. Don't be silly, but if they come, serve them the wine neat.
 B. But if they will not drink it so?
 C. Fool, in these regions wine is not for sale. Consequently if they get hold of this kind of thing, they will drink it neat against their will (?)
 B. I'll serve them lees and all.
 C. Here they come, having bathed.(Drums)

King Brathis¹

All. Brathis¹

B. What do they say?

C. Let us draw lots for the shares, he says

B. Yes, let us.

King. Stoukepairomellokoroke²

B. Back, accursed wretch.

King. Brathis³ (Drums). Bere konzei damun⁴ petrekio paktei kortames⁵ bere ialer ode pomenzi petreki-odam⁶ ut kinze paxei zebes lolo bia bradis

1. *Bharti isu*. Cause to be served in plenty.

2. *Istu avage poyre mella karake*. Pour a little into his hand slowly.

3. *Bharti i(su)*. Give me the precious drink.

4. & 5. *Bēre koñca iyada munna bētir ēkeyo bhāga tekoḷ tammā isu*. Why did you put down your cup before some more was served? Take a portion! Serve a little, Brother!

6. *Bēre iyal irade pōgum en (i) si betirēke (bētirak i) adam*. Thinking there will be no more to be served must you have put down your cups.

kottos.¹

All. Kottos.²

B. May you be kicked by 'Kottos.'

King. Zopit³ (Drums).

B. What do they say?

C. Give them a drink, quick.

B. Are you afraid to speak then? Hail, thou whose days prosper! (Drums)

King Zeisoukormosedē⁴ (Drums)

B. Ah! Not if I know it.

C. It is watery; put in some wine (Much Drumming).

G. Skalmakata⁵ bapteiragoumi⁶

H. Tougoummi⁷ nekelekethro⁸

G. Eitou belle trachoupterugoumi⁹

B. Ah! None of your disgusting ways! Stop!
(Drums) Ah! What are you doing?

H. Trachountermana.¹⁰

G. Boullitikaloumbai platagoulda bi...¹¹

B. Apuleukasar¹² (Drums)

1. *Ūta kenise apēkse sēvisa lolla bhaya bīrdu īsiko tusa.* Is your desire for dinner so little? Would you not eat or drink? Fear! Take a little!

2. *Kodu tusa.* Give a little!

3. (*Hē*) *Oppit* Ah! Excellent!

4. (*Hē*) *Isi kol mōsade* Ah! Take by decent!

5 & 6. *Isu kāla māgada pāpa tira gommi.* The sin (of drinking) which you have not committed till now, may be ended this day only! (In other words, empty the cup).

7. *Tegō ommi.* Take once (again).

8. *Nigaḷ ēke edro.* Why did you get up?

9. *Eyṣu beḷḷe drācca vappa tira gomme.* How pure (white) is the wine! Let it be finished once for all!

10. *Drācca undare māna* It is honour to partake of the (juice of) grapes!

11. *Bavu ollittu ī kāla umbay pāla tago oldu.* You will be very happy this year. Take a share lovingly.

12. *Ā puliyakku sāra.* Ah! It will be sour! (Get away!)

King. Chorbonorbothorba¹

toumionaxiz² despit platagoulda bi...³ Seso
srachis⁴ (Drums) oradosatur⁵ ouamesare⁶ sum-
psaradara ei ia da...⁷

B. Martha marithouma edmaimai maitho⁸ thamouna
martha marithouma (Drums)..... tun⁹

King Malpinaik ouroukougoub (n ?) i karako...ra¹⁰

All Aba¹¹

King Zebede¹² za biligidoumba¹³

All Aba oun¹⁴

King. Pan oum bretikateman ouman brethououeni¹⁵

All. Panoumbretikate manouam brethou oueni¹⁶ para-
koum bretikatema noum bret ououeni¹⁷ olusadi-

1-7. *Caruva nōrva tōrātā unīya naksī dēśa biṭṭa pāla teko oldu*
śeśa rickṣoldose tūru ō umeśvārā scmsāra dāra ērya adā. One shows
boiled rice, another who sees the husk in it, runs away out of the
country. Take a share lovingly. Śesa ! Protect ! Show your love
lovingly ! Oh ! Umesvara ! Is this the door of *samsāra* ?

8 & 9. *Mardam aridev māyada mcyme māyāṭṭa mauna aride-*
vemma We have found out a medicine ! Wherever the greatness of
this magic spreads strongly, silence is produced. Lady ! We have
found out a medicine !

10. *Malpī nāyāvāra* (referring to himself) *kō . kōnī , karakō.*
Take Malpe Nāyaka into the house !

11. *Aba* (Exclamatory) Aba !

12 & 13. *Hā bēda billigīdu amba.* Ha ! Do not do so ! He will
order you to be shot !

14. *Aba ōvan.* Oh ! (Truly !) He will protect you. (if you
act according to his wishes !)

15. *Pāna umba rettikkade māṇa umba rettā avvenī.* Oh ! Lady,
how will you aspire for honour unless the drinking people (ourselves)
hold you (in) high (esteem ?)

16. Same as 15.

17. *Para komba rettikkade māṇa umbarettā avvenī.* Oh ! Lady,
how will you get honour unless those (who take the other world ?)
hold you (in) high (esteem) ?

zaparda piskou piskate man arei man ridaou
oupatei...¹ (Five drummings)

King. A boundless barbaric dance I lead, O goddess
moon With wild measure and barbaric step;
Ye Indian chiefs, bring the drum of mystic
sound.² The frenzied Seric step. (Much drum-
ming and beating)

All. Orkis.³

B. What do they say again ?

C. He says, dance

B. Just like living men (Drums)

C. Throw him down and bind him with the sacred
girdles. (Much drumming. Finale)

B. They are now heavy with drink.

C. Good ; Charition, come out here

A. Come, brother, quickly : is all already ?

C. Yes, all ; the boat is at anchor close by ; why do
you linger ? Helmsman, I bid you bring the
ship alongside here at once

D. Wait till I give him the word

B. Are you talking again, you bungler ? Let us
leave him outside to kiss the ship's bottom.

C. Are you all aboard ?

All. Aboard.

A. O Unhappy me ! A great trembling seizes my
wretched body Be propitious, Lady goddess !
Save thy hand-maiden !

1. *Olsadiha paradappisiko oppisi kodenmanārai emmanaridu
oppade.* You will forfeit the happiness of this and the other world
without yielding to the will of the king (i. e., if you do not yield
to the will of the king.) Submit ! Protect us (by becoming our
queen). Did (do) you understand us ? Do you not approve ? (Or
is not to your liking ?)

2. Perhaps the drum that is used by the people of Tuluva.
B. A. S.

3. *Oragisu.* Make him lie down ! (lest he should fall and
hurt himself.)

Appendix B

1. HOUSEHOLDS IN THE THIRTY-TWO GRĀMAS OF TUḷUVA

Western Grāmas

Abbreviations :—M = Mangalore version.

B = Bhaṭṭācārya's version, pp. 27, seq.

P = Puttige version.

Numerals refer to the households

M	B	P
<p>1. <i>Karevūru grāma</i> Talepāḍitāya, Pārūrūtāya, Karevūrūtāya, Iciltāya, Anantōḍitāya, Meyyūrūtāya, Poyyātāya and Poyyātāya's son (8)</p> <p>2. <i>Varṇāḍi grāma</i> Maḍalūrūtāya, Mayūrākhyane Tāletāya, Nārājatāya, Aryappināya, Nētratāya Kidekidēlāya, Saṇṇaḍkatāya, and Mañjugōḍitāya (8)</p>	<p>1. <i>Karevūru grāma</i> Pātūrāya, Pakūrāya, Kudure-tāya, Poyyātāya (4)</p> <p>2. <i>Varṇāḍi grāma</i> Tāletāya, Ayapināya, Nārālatāya, Nētratāya, Arināya, Kidekidenāya, Sunṇōṇḍitāya, and Kuñjitturāya (8)</p>	<p>1. <i>Karevūru grāma</i> As in B except for Pātūrāya who is given as Pārūrāya (4)</p> <p>2. <i>Varṇāḍi grāma</i> As in B except for Ayapināya which is given as Āryanāya, and Nētratāya given as Nētratāya, Kidekidenāya given as Kidenāya (8)</p>

3. <i>Mārāṇi grāma</i> Bakutāya, Innentāya (2)	3. <i>Mārāṇe grāma</i> Baḍekeḍenāya, Sulyanṇāya (2)	3. <i>Marane grāma</i> As in B except for the first given as Pidekadenāya (2)
4. <i>Kāḷavināḍa grāma</i> Sulyanṇāya, Paḍakannāya (2)	4. <i>Koḷavi grāma</i> Talepāditāya, Mañjanōḍi- tāya (2)	4. <i>Omitted in P</i> (But see below No. 17)
5. <i>Pāḍi grāma</i> Amettōḍitāya, Kakkilāya, Iḍuvalitāya, Kamōṭitāya (4)	5. <i>Pāḍimogara grāma</i> Ametāya, Sambaratāya, In- duvalitāya, Koyakudalāya (4)	5. <i>Pāḍi grāma</i> As in B
6. <i>Kūḍilu grāma</i> Piṇetāya, Piḷlikaratāya, Kōti- kuñjatāya, Kudukullāya (4)	6. <i>Kūḍalu grāma</i> Kannuranṇāya, Sambaran- nāya, Irvattūrāya, Mittadkat tāya (4)	6. <i>Kūḍila grāma</i> As in B but for the second given as Kambaranāya.
7. <i>Mogebailu grāma</i> Talyantōḍitāya, Irnūrāya, Kidelurāya, Kuṇikuḍalāya (4)	7. <i>Mogebailu grāma</i> Piṇitāya, Piḷkaritāya, Kabbu- koditāya, Mudetāya (4)	7. <i>Mogebailu grāma</i> As in B but read for the third Tamlantōḍitāya (4)
8. <i>Mittanāḍu grāma</i> Kadarīmbalatāya, Gangetāya, Depuñjatāya, Baikulāya (4)	8. <i>Mittanāḍu grāma</i> Kuṇḍagōlatāya, Nūjitāya, Gangetāya, Saralatāya (4)	8. <i>Mittanāḍu grāma</i> As in B but read for the last Paralatāya (4)

M	B	P
<p>9. <i>Nirumārga grāma</i> Ambaratāya, Sambaratāya, Indravajitāya, Kannāraṇa, Kambarāṇa, Irvanturāya, Ko- yakōditāya, Mittanadukātāya (8)</p>	<p>9. <i>Nirumārga grāma</i> Icalutāya, Anantōditāya, Thālampādītāya, Taralāya, Mā- varāya, Kumārātāya (6)</p>	<p>9. <i>Nirumārga grāma</i> Ucalatāya, Anantōditāya, Alampādītāya, Kaṇṇātānāya, Kumārātāya, Māvaratāya (6)</p>
<p>10. <i>S'rimantūru grāma</i> S'rimantūrāya, Śibarurāya, Munnūrāya, Mucchantāya, Madikulāya, Sedikulāya, Āsu- rapenāya (7)</p>	<p>10. <i>Simantūru grāma</i> Simantūrāya, Śibarāya, Man- nurāya, Ipprantāya, Mukyan- tāya, Mudikuḍalāya, Sḍikala- tāya, Adarāya, Barvanāya (9)</p>	<p>10. <i>Simantūru grāma</i> As in B except for 3rd, 5th & 7th for which read Munnurāya, Maccantāya, and Madhikala- tāya respectively (only 8)</p>
<p>11. <i>Tenakala grāma</i> Monenāya, Mittantāya, Ma- ḍumannāya, Valāya, Kācan- tāya, Bakkuṇṇāya, Barkaṇṇā- ditāya, Uḷkurāya (8)</p>	<p>11. <i>Tenakala grāma</i> Mogerāya, Mittatāya, Madu- mannāya Valāya, (idake pra- tināma [contra] Kañcitāya), Vokudsnāya, Uḷrāya, Mallinji- nāya, Kabekodināya (8)</p>	<p>11. <i>Tenakala grāma</i> As in B but read for 1st, 2nd, 4th contra, 6th, 7th Mōne- nāya, Mittōntāya, Kōpōntāya, Uḷarāya, Malliyabaṇṇināya (8)</p>
<p>12. <i>S'ivabelli grāma</i> (120) See below</p>	<p>12. <i>S'ivabelli grāma</i> (120) See below</p>	<p>12. <i>S'ivabelli grāma</i> (120) See below</p>

13. <i>Ajapura grāma</i> Oambulitāya, Ugramballi- āya, Ullurāya, Kairamballi- tāya, Alīya, Aṣṭamūrtitāya, Hebbāra, Sabojetāya (8)	13. <i>Brahmapura grāma</i> Ulluru, Ungarapalli, Ōram- balli, Kairamballi, Alapāyi, Aṣṭamūrti, Hebbāra, Samblāya (8)	13. <i>Brahmapura grāma</i> Ōramballi, Kairamballi, Ungurapalli, Ullūra, Alapa, Aṣṭamūrti, Hebbāra, and the last omitted (8)
14. <i>Nīlāvāra grāma</i> Nārītāya, Kallūrāya, Edavat- tinaṃya, Annitāya, Tumbekal- tāya, Hebbāra, Maddhyastha, Nuñcingāya (8)	14. <i>Nirvāra grāma</i> Nārītāya, Yadabēṭṭanāyā, Kallūrāya, Tumbikalāya, Heb- bāra, Nūjinnāya, Makkitāya, Pāditāya (8)	14. <i>Nirāvāra grāma</i> Leaf in the Ms. torn...ya... Edebeṭṭināya, Kallūrāya, Mak- kitāya, Tumbillāya, Hebbāra, Nūjitāya, Pāde (8)
15. <i>Kōṭa grāma</i> Hande, Bāsiri, Tunga, Nā- vaḍa, Holla, Maṃya, Hebbāra, Kāraṇta, Kāraṇta's represen- tative Aṇṇa Kāraṇta, Maṃya's representative Aṇṇa Hērala '8+2)	15. <i>Kūta grāma</i> Hande, Bāsari, Tunga, Nā- vaḍa, Holla, Maṃya, Hebbāra, Kārvavanta (8)	16. <i>Kūta grāma</i> Tunga, Kāraṇta, Hērala Hande, Bāsiri, Nāvūḍa, idakke pratināṃavādā Nāvūḍa Ho la (Total ?)
16. <i>Kandāvāra grāma</i> Udupa, Hebbāra (2)	16. <i>Skandapura grāma</i> Same as in M	16. <i>Skandapura grāma</i> Same as in M
		See above No. 4, 17. <i>Ōmañjāru grāma</i> Maḍantillāya (1)

Eastern Grāmas

M	B	P
1. <i>S'ripāḍi grāma</i> Kuñjamaṇṇāya, Kaudamba- dītāya, Pāṅgaṇṇāya, Atrāḍi- tāya, Baipāḍitāya (5)	1. <i>S'ripāḍi grāma</i> Kuñjamaṇṇāya, Vaipāḍitāya, Putraṇṇāya (4)	1. <i>S'ripāḍi grāma</i> Kuñjamaṇṇāya, Koṇḍapāḍi- tāya, Baipāḍitāya, Atrāḍitāya, Pāṅgaṇṇāya (5)
2. <i>Vaḍila grāma</i> Alavaṇṇāya, Pulintāya (2)	2. <i>Oḍila grāma</i> Ālumaṇṇāya, Ulipoditāya (2)	2. <i>Koḍila grāma</i> Ambullamaṇṇāya, Pulikodi- tāya (2)
3. <i>Nāla grāma</i> Paduvantāya, Malepāḍitāya (2)	3. <i>Nāle grāma</i> Madipāḍitāya, Parvantāya (2)	3. <i>Nāla grāma</i> Same as in B but read for the second Maduvantāya (2)
4. <i>Karandūru grāma</i> Capagetāya, Pannetāya (2)	4. <i>Kārandūru grāma</i> Sampagenāya, Edakelatāya (2)	4. <i>Kārandūru grāma</i> Same as in B
5. <i>Ujjari grāmā</i> Vappantāya, Arimanitāya, Kukkōditāya, Mundaḍitāya, Mūḍapāḍitāya, Aripāḍitāya, Cillaṇṇāya, Arbitāya (8)	5. <i>Ujjire grāma</i> Armanetāya, Vappantāya, Kōkarāḷitāya, Aripāḍitāya, Mundaḍitāya, Kemmuṇḍāya, Arbatāya, Ballaṇṇāya, (8)	5. <i>Ujjirya ārāma</i> Same as in B

6. <i>Kuñjamārga grāma</i> Puralatāya, Kuñjamārgatāya, (<i>gr̥ha eraḍa onrē</i>) Perāditāya, Muccintāya, Alkitāya, Maduvinnāya, Kundanṇāya, Korangi- nāya, Kakkaranṇāya (8)	6. <i>Kuñyamārga grāma</i> Peralatāya, Kunnimārgen- tāya (<i>iru iraḍa sandeha</i>) Pera- ditāya, Upparanṇāya Icaltāya, Itantāya, Maḍavināya, Kudu- ṇṇāya, Putayātāya, Koḍaṇci- nāya, Karakanṇāya (9)	6. <i>Kuñjamārga grāma</i> Peralatāya, Kuñjamārgatāya, (<i>gr̥ha eraḍa onrē</i>) Perāditāya, Muccintāya, Alkitāya, Maduvinnāya, Kundanṇāya, Korangi- nāya, Kakkaranṇāya (8)
7. <i>Kokkaḍa grāma</i> Iḍepāditāya, Śabarāya, Up- pāraṇa, Koḍtillāya (4)	7. <i>Kokkaḍa grāma</i> Tōdillāya, Śabarāya, Yada- pāditāya, Upparanṇāya (4)	7. <i>Kokkaḍa grāma</i> Same as in B but read for the 1st Tēdillāya, and add Nūditāya (5)
8. <i>Rāmiṇja grāma</i> Nōritāya, Maṭṭināya, <i>avana</i> <i>prānīdhi</i> Teñjitāya, Parla- tāya (4)	8. <i>Rāmaṇja grāma</i> Nūjitāya, Maṭatāya, Munnū- rāya (3)	8. <i>Rāmiṇja grāma</i> Same as in B but for the 1st read Nūratāya (3). The word Bhaṭṭa is added here.
9. <i>Pude grāma</i> Pudināya, Ametōditāya, Pa- ralatāya, Illaḍitāya (4)	9. <i>Pude grāma</i> Pudināya (<i>ubhaya gr̥ha</i> 1) (1)	9. <i>Pude grāma</i> Pudenāya (1)
10. <i>Baḷpa grāma</i> Bāritāya, Ummāpitāya, Am- māpitāya (3)	10. <i>Belapāḍi grāma</i> Bāritāya, Ummaranṇāya, Ammāṇi (<i>gr̥ha 1 sanṭaya</i>) (3)	10. <i>Baḷla grāma</i> Same as in B but read for the 2nd Uccaranṇāya

M	B	P
11. <i>Ernāḍu grāma</i> Mudampādītāya, Yedekullāya. Ibbādītāya, Musepāstāya (4)	11. <i>Irñāḍu grāma</i> Takarāṇḍāya, Mundapādītāya, Sabarāya, Ulapādītāya, (<i>ubhaya grha</i> 4)	11. <i>Ernāḍu grāma</i> Same as in B but read for the 1st Kakkarannāya
12. <i>Idēkedu grāma</i> Manikalāya, Keltāya, Sādanga, Abulitāya, Mannangal-tāya, Arumbadtāya (6)	12. <i>Idākedu grāma</i> Manikalāya, Sadangatāya (2)	12. <i>Idakelu grāma</i> Same as in B
13. <i>Kemmiñja grāma</i> Bijetāya (1)	13. <i>Kemmiñja grāma</i> Bajetāya (1)	13. <i>Kemmiñje grāma</i> Bajetāya (1)
14. <i>Pāñiñja grāma</i> Idebeṭṭināya, Anñjetāya (2)	14. <i>Pāliñja grāma</i> Edabettunāya (1)	14. <i>Pāliñja grāma</i> Same as in B
15. <i>S'iriyāḍi grāma</i> Siriyaḍītāya, Kunṭārantāya, Kunkōḍītāya, Bajutillāva, Kemmuṇḍetāya (5)	15. <i>S'iriyāḍi grāma</i> Kannūrāya (1)	15. <i>S'iriyāḍi grāma</i> Kuntarāya (1)
16. <i>Kōḍipāḍi grāma</i> Irakaṭṭatāya, Ponnetāya, Arkantāya, Seretāya, Kajakan-tāya (5)	16. <i>Kōḍipāḍi grāma</i> Pānatāya, Irekalatāya (2)	16. <i>Kōḍipāḍi grāma</i> Same as in B

2. ŚIVAḤI GRĀMA (CALLED IN ALL VERSIONS ŚIVABELLI)

The main regulation the Śivalli grāma is thus given in P:—*modalu hattu naḍu nalvattu kaḍe eppattu hattarakūḍe haḍi mūru nalvattaralli nālku yeppattaralli ondu antu śreṣṭha gṛha hadinentu.*

In B the same is given thus —

*modalu hattu naḍu nalvattu kaḍe ippattu hattaralli hadina-
idu nalvattaralli nālku ippattaralli ondu antu śreṣṭha gṛha ippattu.*

In P it means thus in English.—“ The first ten—middle forty—the last seventy—with three added to the first ten, four out of forty, and one out of seventy, these eighteen households are the best ”

In B the same reads thus in English:—“ The first ten—middle forty—the last twenty. With five added to the first ten, and four out of forty, and one out of twenty—these twenty households are the best ”

The following regulation is common to both the versions P & B.—

nalvattaralli mūvattāru madhyama bhōjana pratibhōjana mātra eppattaralli arvattoṃbattu tantu mātra ardha brāhmaru.
(Out of forty thirty-six are middling Brahmans, while sixty out of seventy are Brahmans only in name, i e., *tantu mātra brāhmaru.*)

N. B. Neither the main regulation nor its subsidiary can be seen in M. And in both P & M *ippattu* is sometimes written by the scribe for *eppattu*

The first ten households

M	B	P
<p>1. <i>Alevūru grāma</i></p> <p>Alevūrāya, Kodañcatāya, Maṇḍipulhātāya, Mañjatāya, Saralāya, Kuttubulitāya (6)</p> <p>2. <i>Sagari grāma</i></p> <p>Sagaritāya, Tenkillāya, Naḍ-vantillāya, Kuñjatāya (4)</p>	<p>1. <i>Alevūru grāma</i></p> <p>Alevūrāya, Kodañca, Mañjūtāya, Saralāya, Kadambalitāya (6)</p> <p>2. <i>Sagari grāma</i></p> <p>Same as in M but read for the first Śagurirāya</p>	<p>1. <i>Alevūru grāma</i></p> <p>Same as in B</p> <p>2. <i>Sagari grāma</i></p> <p>Same as in M but read for the last Kuñjatāya</p>
<p>3. Putturāya, Bāyiri, Kēkude (3) Their representatives : Alevurāya's brother Kedilāya, Kaṭṭukaṭṭatāya, Kodañca's brother Kolatāya (3) (These are the additions)</p>		

All the three versions are agreed on the following four households being the best (*śrestha*):—

Baṇṇiñjetāya, Korenāya or Kornāya, Maraditāya, and Śivatāya. (But M however adds two households in the Muñjūru grāma—Mañjurāya and one household in the Kuñjūru grāma—Kuñjurāya, to the above list).

We give here only the account as found in P, since it is the clearest of all the three

The 4 best households as given in P are the following:—

Baṇṇiñjetāya, Korenāya, Maraditāya, and Śivatāya. From M we know that Baṇṇiñjetāya belonged to the Baṇṇiñje grāma, Korenāya to Indravallī, Maraditāya to Cittupādī, and Śivatāya to Śivallī grāma.

The rest of the 36 households as given thus in P & B:—

Kramadhāretāya, Kekodīnāya (Tenkodīnāya in B), Kāntāraṇtāya, Śittilāya, Arulitāya, Karambāntāya Paḍilāya, Niḍilāya, Kaṇṇappināya, Makkittāya (Mankittāya in B), Kaḍḍināya (Koṭṭilaḍḍināya in B), Kodālāya, Parkalatāya, Arimetāya, Kolambetāya (Koleketāya in B), Kokkodīnāya (Kakkāḍināya in B), (Kallyaṭṭināya Kalaṭṭināya in B), Manikala-tāya, Antillāya (Aṇkilāya in B), Mūdetāya (Mūditāya in B), Pādetāya, Tōṭaṇtillāya (Kōṭaṇtillāya in B), Kunyamārgaṇtāya, Kaṇṇarāya (Kaṇṇūraya in B), Kelaturāya, Maṇṇannitāya, (Maṇṇinnitāya in B), Nēyampillitāya, Baḍikkilāya, Kalyāṇantāya, Nūjitāya, Kodapalitāya, Nekkāraṇtāya, Vakkīnāya (Vatināya in B), Sīmburattāya, Iḷanturāya (Politāya in B), (B adds Puḍināya to the above list.). P gives them as *śat-karmi niyataru*. But B. gives them as *trikarmis*.

M. also styles them as *tri-karmis* but supplies the following additional information.—

Baṇṇiñje grāma:—the best household is that of Baṇṇiñjetāya. Its disciples (*śisyaṛu*) are the following:—Krama-

dhāntāya, Tenkōḍitāya, Kāntarantāya, Śittilāya, Kambolitāya, Nūjitāya, Kalyānantāya, Kaḍillāya

Indravallī grāma.—Korenāya is the best household.

Its disciples are the following:—Kodepolitāya, Polinnāya, Nekkarantāya, Śimbarantāya, Padillāya, Nedillāya, Kaṇṇapitāya, Makkināya, Pakkimanāya.

Čiṭṭupādi grāma:—Maraditāya is the best household.

Its disciples are the following:—Kōṭṭopitāya, Koḍalāya, Pārkalantāya, Arimetāya, Kallyattitāya, Māṇilatāya, Kuttigulināya, Kukkōditāya, Yellyantitāya

Śivallī grāma —Śivatāya is the best household. Its disciples are the following : Mūdetāya, Pāditāya, Kōṭanti-lāya, Kuditamārgantāya, Kānnārāya, Kalatratāya, Monōlitāya, Nēpāditāya, Madirāya.

3. 70 HOUSEHOLDS IN THE THREE VERSIONS

Version M gives the following :—

Mañjūru grāma.—Mañjurāya and Mādantillāya are the best households Kuñjuru grāma:—Kuñjurāya is the best household Its disciples :—Kangināya, Mittilāya, Badki'āya, Kukkilāya, Pānejetāya, Kalambināya, Sunnañtāya, Oitāya, Niñjurāya, Nellitāya, Mālyantāya, Baḷatāya. These 12 households can inter-dine

Hebbāra, Bellyatāya, Tōnitāya, Karkatēta, Manōlitāya, Nurgetāya, Vadvapāditāya, Elikuḍātāya, Ubōlitāya, Čchakerāya, Gangalantāya, Bōritāya, Mūḍacadutāya, Tōḍināya, Bōhyāya, Arcitāya, Kuvallāya, Gadairāya, Tō āḍitāya, Kuddurāya, Koḍantāya, Deyyangināya, Survatāya, Arkatāya, Nūjināya, Kadañcitāya, Kaṇṇatāya, Kalitāya, Mādāḍitāya, Dōnitāya, Putyetāya, Mudematāya, Ujjiriyatāya, Akōṭihēbbāra, Ānetāya, Nakkantāya, Kallōlitāya, Nijaḍōpitāya, Kāyeritāya, Appuccitāya, Maipāditāya, Kōṭirāya, Bolilāya, Nadinnāya, Mēlaḍitāya, Permudetāya, Kōḷavetāya, Macillāya, Iretāya, Perlāya. These are Brāhmāns 'only' in 'name

(*tantu mātra Brāhmanaru*) They are kings servants (*vāja kinkararu*). They are entitled to the privilege of dining in the same line with other (*pankti bhōjana mātra priti bhōjana villa*) They are not entitled to the privilege of *pūjā samparka*, etc., for having intermarried with the B ahmans who had been condemned by Paraśurāma

Version P and B give the following —

Version P says that Kuñjurāya is the best household. It enumerates the 70 households in the following order —

Kangināya (Taggināya in B), Mittilāya Kuñjalāya (Kuttilāya in B), Penambe (Panañji in B), Šunnantāya, Kalambi (Ulitāya is given here in B), Ninjurāya, Nellitāya, Mallyatāya (Mallyantāya in B), Hebbapa, Bellavatti (Belapati in B), Bellārāya (Belayarāya in B), Tōṇitāya, Karkatatāya, Nānilatāya, Durge, Vādpe (Vadetāya in B), Pādi, Ubbali, Cakkerāya, Mangalantāya (Mangalatāya in B), (Vōritāya is added here in B), Mandaca (Mandabettāya in B), Adukatāya, Tōdi (Kodilāya in B), Yelikodi, Gōli (Kulitāya in B), Ruvallāya (not found in B), Annappi, Gudde (Gūde in B), Denge (Deyigināya in B), (Kodilāya is given here in B), Kundantāya Kudurāya Areyā, Kuditāya, Surya, Nūji, Kodambe, (Kodanji in B), Kannapalli Mundādi, Dōni, Pudumale (Mudumale in B), Puttya (Putive in B), Ujare, Akkuti (Kokkodi in B), Hebbāra, Nakkatte, Āne, Kalyāli, Agali, Mukke, Nijamkōpi (Nijikoši), Irvatturāya, Āpucce, (Āpiye in B), Maipādibettināya (Maipādi and Bevināya in B), Kottināya (Kovināya in B), Kudurāya, Kolambe (Kolañji in B), (Kalāya is added here in B), Jōgimajalāya (Majalāya in B), Tōdināya, Iretāya Perlāya, Kabekodi (Kabetodi in B) Majjatāya (Mañjitāya in B), and Piye (Beye in B)

B gives the following verse in connection with the above Brahmans

pātitya anugatāḥ kecit kecit prācīna Taulavāḥ ।

Rāma saptā dvijā kecit Brāhmaṇāḥ tantumātrakāḥ ॥

(Some were fallen some were the ancient Taulavas ; and some others were those who had been condemned by Rāma [Jāmadagnya]. These were Brahmans only in name).

4. THE BRAHMANS OF ŚIVALĪ GRĀMA AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD (?)

Only version P gives the following interesting details about the Brahmans of the Śivalī grāma .—

Śivabellī grāma 300 (*Śivabellī grāmada Brāhmarā 300 idakke vivara*)

Alevūru emba bettinallī vivara 400 (?) (This passage unfortunately has been left out while transcribing from the original)

Tenkanūra vivara (100 in the southern locality) Kallamañja, Mañjatabettu, Kadambulabettu, Kōdangala, Mandarādi—*idu tenka nūra vivara*

Paramballī Kakkuñje Nūjitabettu-antu ainūrara vivara

Naḍu munnūrara virara Banniñja, Kadapādi, Paduvu, Pādigāra.

Udupī nūrara vivara Śagurī Mankī Bundnāru *antu nūru*

Paḍumunnūrara vivara Kodavūru, Arkalabettu. Behugale *idu munnūru*

Muḍamunnūrara vivara Heraga, Pārkala, Kudigrāma *Pernankilu antu munnūru*

Muḍanānnūrara vivara Cīttupādi, Kemmuttūru, Māyarpādi, Bailūru *antu nānūru*.

Paḍunānnūrara vivara Nidumbūru, Kannarapādi, Kēdūru, Niṭṭūru, Puttūru, Nēyamballī *antu mūru sāvira*.

Thus from the above it appears that in and around Śivalī there were three thousand Brahman households, thereby justifying to some extent the remarkable popularity of Udupī as a centre of pious and learned men in early days.

5. HOUSEHOLDS DIVIDED ACCORDING TO PROFESSION

(M styles them as *Ēkāśi viniyogadavaru*)*Agnihotri Jana*

M	B	P
<p>Alevūrāya, Śmantūrāya, Mucantūrāya, Munnūrāya, Kūcāntūrāya, Mañjāca, Mañjetāya, Śarālāya, Madambalitāya, Kuñjitāya, Naḍvantulāya, dipalitāya, Kadam, Kuñjitāya, Nadvantulāya, Śagaritāya, Tenkilāya, Korenāya, guritāya, Tenkilāya, Putrāya, Bannijetāya, Maraditāya, Śi-tekudenāya, Bāyiritāya, Kavatāya, Idepādītāya, Pāngan-llurāya, Baipādītāya, Vappanāya, Udupa, Iritāya, Kuñjorāya, Muttantāya, Śarālāya (24) Maraditāya, Udupa, Brahmakāraṇta, Bannijetāya, Sive-tāya (26, the additions being Brahmakāraṇta and Udupa)</p>	<p>Śmantūrāya, Mucantūrāya, Munnūrāya, Alevūrāya, Kodañ-ḍaṇca, (Madipalitāya), Mañjāca, Mañjetāya, Śarālāya, Madambalitāya, Kuñjitāya, Naḍvantulāya, dipalitāya, Kadam, Kuñjitāya, Nadvantulāya, Śagaritāya, Tenkilāya, Korenāya, guritāya, Tenkilāya, Putrāya, Bannijetāya, Maraditāya, Śi-tekudenāya, Bāyiritāya, Kavatāya, Idepādītāya, Pāngan-llurāya, Baipādītāya, Vappanāya, Udupa, Iritāya, Kuñjorāya, Muttantāya, Śarālāya (24) Maraditāya, Udupa, Brahmakāraṇta and Udupa</p>	<p>Same as in B but without Śarālāya, Udupa, and Brahmakāraṇta.</p>
<i>Smārthas</i>		
<p>Tāletāya, Nāralatāya, Arya-ppināya, Kikidenāya, Nūritāya, Ccham-pagetāya, Malepādītāya, Kallurāya, Udupa, Baipādītāya, Alevūrāya, Mudapādītāya, Kō-tingināya, Brahmakāraṇta (14)</p>	<p>Nūritāya, Kidenāya, Nāralatāya, Tālantrāya, Ayyapināya, Mannakalatāya, Alevūrāya, Brahmakāraṇta, Kallurāya, Udupa, Baipādītāya, Kōringināya, Mudapādītāya, Kōḍaṇ-ḍa (14)</p>	<p>Same as in B but read for the 2nd, 4th, and 13th Kidenāya, Tālatāya and Mudam-pādītāya (13)</p>

Bhattas

M	B	P
Munnurāya, Alevūrāya, Perannāya, Mañjatāya, Baipādītāya, Pjētāya, Pāsurāya, Indravalitāya, Mucchantāya, Srimanturāya, Kodenāya, Badikolatāya, Kuñjatāya, Maduvinnāya, Kudañca, Kallurāya, Mogerāya, Brahmakāranta, Udupa, Vappantāya, Nūritāya, Arimanetāya, Idepādītāya, Śaralāya, Sabarāya, Upārana, Irvatturāya, Mūdampādītāya, Bajetāya, Paralātāya, Kenkilāya, Bāyirūtāya, Kēkode, Konnāya, Banninjetāya, Maradītāya, Śivatāya, Nadvantilāya, Kambōlitāya (40)	Munnurāya, Arināya, Kōvināya, Perannāya, Koyamegetāya, Kudurāya, Majjitāya, Tāletāya, Pjūtāya, Pāturāya, Induvalitāya, Koyakodanāya, Mūsimantūrāya, Puñcanāya, Mucantūrāya, Mogerāya, Mitranātāya, Alevūrāya, Tunga, Brahmakāranta, Kallulāya, Udupa, Baipādītāya, Atrālītāya, Apparalāya, Sabarāya, Belannāya, Arenantādītāya, Idapādītāya, Sabarāya, Uparannāya, Korgināya, Ametādītāya, Śambarāya, Kōlatāya, Mūdampādītāya, Bajitāya, Konnāya, Saguntāya, Madantilāya, Pāturāya (40)	Same as in B but read for the 3rd, 7th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 16th, 33rd, 37th, 38th, 39th and 40th Kōttināya, Mañjatāya, Tātrālatāya, Indravalitāya, Muccantāya, Mittontāya, Śabarāya, Putrāya, Bayintāya and Kēkudenāya respectively (40).

Tantris

Icalatāya, Nētratāya, Pāngannāya, Putturāya (4)	Nētratāya, Icalatāya, Putrāya, Pāngannāya, Udupa, Brahmakāranta (6)	Same as in B but without the last two. And the 1st is called Nētratāya
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Panditas

Vappantāya, Pijetāya, (2) | Kallurāya, Upparaṇṇāya (2) | Same as in B

Pakṣaṇāthas

Mūdlāya, Nidumbūrāya (2) | Nūdlāya, Nidubūrāya (2) | Omitted in P

Ballālas

Talepāḍitāya, Mañjunōditāya, Kuñjimanṇāya, Kōdam-
būru, Mūḍila (4) | Talepāḍi, Mañjanōdi, Nidubūru, Mūḍila (4) | Same as in B but all are styled *tāvas*

Grāmanis

Kidekidenāya, Śulyanṇāya, Kōṭikuñjetāya, Kamōṭi, Śrīman-
tūrāya, Ambarantāya, Madu-
mannāya, Nadvantilāya, Nāri-
tāya, Udupa, Atrāḍitāya, Cam-
pagetāya, Kudavannāya, Ide-
pāḍitāya, Arimanetāya, Pudi-
nnāya, Manikalatāya, Nūri-
tāya, Edevattināya, Mittan-
tāya, Mūdampāditāya, Parla-
kalatāya, Udupa, Urambālji (24)) | Pātūrāya, Poyatāya, Śulla-
nnāya, Kikidenāya, Kōṭaṇ-
nāya, Tennarāya, Kaṇṇaran-
nāya, Mādantilāya, Nadvanti-
lāyā, Kuñjītāya, Hērala, Kā-
ranta, Nāritāya, Idabettināya,
Hebbāra, Sampigetāya, (in Nī-
rāvara), Ambarannāya, Ara-
manetāya, Mādappināya, Put-
ranṇāya, Kakarannāya, Kina-
kalatāya, Udupa, Urambālji (24)) | Pārurāya, Poyatāya, Gull-
yonṇāya, Kikidenāya, Kōṭi-
nāya, Innirāya, Kannāraṇṇa,
Mūdantilāya, Nadvantilāya,
Kuñjātāya, Hērala, Kārantā,
Nāritāya, Idebettināya, Heb-
bāra, Smpagetāya (in Nīlā-
vara), Ambarannāya Armauc-
tāya, Madappināya, Putra-
nāya, Kakkarannāya, Okalatāya,
Udupa, Orambālji (24)

Aḥvāsis

M	B	P
<p>Aripādītāya, Maduvinnāya, Kannārādītāya, Arbītāya, Kōdvattirāya, Aggitāya, Depujētāya, Kabekortāya, Kidellūrāya, Baḷḷullāya, Gañjītāya, Bārītāya, Poyyatāya, Iōḍillāya, Cilannāya, Mittadkatāya (16)</p>	<p>Alevūrāya, Pāganpināya, Tāretāya, Aṇakuñjītāya, Bāśakannāya, Kedatirāya, Arbīrāya, Pelādītāya, Kannārādītāya, Kambārannāya, Uliyārāya Kabekodīnāya, Malāmpādītāya, Erunkatāya, Bartodītāya, Puñjukannāya, Kudurāya, Niñjurāya, Iravattūrāya, Nambunitāya, Jātōdītāya (21)</p>	<p>Alevūrāya, Pāngappināya, Kāretāya, Kannakuñjātāya, Bārīkuñnāya, Kedatērāya, Kapek. dīnāya, Parikatāya, Tōdītāya, Pañjukannāya, Kudurāya, Kuñjurāya (12)</p>
<i>Jannis</i>		
<p>Sēdikullāya, Madkullāya, Mittantāya, Vailāya, Kuñjātāya, Mañjatāya, Kemundepādītāya, Madampādītāya, Malepādītāya, Hebbāra, Ugrabalītāya, Idevettināya, Idekallāya, Koyakodītāya, Ulīrāya, Mūdillāya, Maṭṭināya, Śaṇṇadkatāya, Kuñikudalāya, Anantodītāya, Kaṇṇārāya, Kambārana, Pudēnāya, Pulintāya, Śadanga,</p>	<p>Madkudilāya, Śidikudilāya, Tinakalatāya, Madumannāya, Kāpuñjāya, Vailāya, Mañjītāya, Kemmundēnāya, Vodambādītāya, Kabetodīnāya, Hebbāra, Ungurapaḷḷi, Edebettināya, K. kodēnāya, Raipatāya, Koditullāya, Bābetillāya, Madillāya, Urālā, Kuduretāya, Teñjītāya, Kuntarāya, Maratāya, Amanāya, Bāyatāya, Pudēnāya,</p>	<p>.....Kudulāya, Seskalatāya, Mādumannāya, Kācukuñja, Vailāya, Mañjatāya, Kemmundānāya, Odampādītāya, Kabekodīnāya, Hebbāra, Ungu la, Edebettināya, Edekallāya, Kōkkodatāya, Aripatāya, Tōdtilāya, Bābetillāya, Mūdillāya, Urālā, Kuduretāya, Tengyāyitāya, Māthanāya, Amārnatāya, Bāryetāya, Pudēnāya,</p>

Irekaṭṭutāya, Pāditāya, Holla, Mūlatāya, Arundāya, Amba- Mayya, Padatāya, Okunnāya, rannāya, Ulitāya, Paddilāya, Ammanitāya, Kambalitodi- Edepulitāya, Urāya, Padilāya, tāya, Armanitāya, Pellikari- Irekaditāya, Ponetāya, Udupa, tāya, Ponnetāya, Mādintilāya, Herala (38) Mūsevāsītāya (38)	Mūlatāya, Adundatāya, Amba- rannāya, Hulitāya, Edepuyya- tāya, Pula, Padpillāya, Irakata- tāya, Ponetāya (38)
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B gives the following as the *maryāde* or usage of the Jannis — *atta murida akki l, aidu mole dana l, tappi banda gōva l, keggoda l, jūdu mara l, kūpa l, kulā-śrunkhala, manakāle S'raṅga vāḍya l, naḍa muḍi l, paḥsākūta l, makara tōrana l, dīpa mālā-sthambha l, dolamañji l, kettu eddu banda hennu l, ratna kambali l, cchatra l*, — these sixteen *kattaḷes* or regulations are said to have been established by Lokāditya Rāya

M mentions these regulations for all, i e., those who made up the 10 *vinīyogas*, but not for the *adhivāsīs*. We have described these in an earlier connection. (See *supra* Ch IV. Sec. 1)

P also mentions these regulations which we have likewise described in Ch. IV.

Dhoregaḷu (Nobles)

This list is given only in B :—

Kunda Heggade, Muda Heggade Māramba Heggade, Bidireśva Vōmañjuru, Rāmanātha, Bōlada Déśingatāya, *nūrūru mandī* Heggade, Ballālaru These *dhores* were only nine in number

Sāvantūru (i. e, Sāvantas)

Given only by B. Iravattūru Basava Sāvanta, Mulika Kinnika Sāvanta (2)

Nāḍus

M	B	P
Kela-nādu, Nalvattanādu (2)	Same as in M	Kola-nādu, Nalvattanādu (2)

Kōḍus

Kāngōdu, Kāsara-gōdu (2)	Omitted in B	Kaṅḡinōdu, Kāsara-gōdu (2)
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Bidus

Baīndūru, Bhattakala (2)	Same as in B	Baidūru, Bhattakala (2)
--------------------------	--------------	-------------------------

Divāna

Kadari, Kārkala (2)	Same as in M	Same as in M
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Dharmasthāna

Cautaru, Bangaru (2)	Omitted in B	Same as in M
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Simhāsanas

Bārakūru, Mangalūru (2)	Same as in M	Bārakuru, Mangakaḍamba (?) (2)
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Honesthāna

Only M gives the two names—Kadare and Kāntāvara (2)

Gaḍi

Only M gives the *gaḍis* thus :—Śukti and Mukti (?)

Kare (boundary)

Only M gives the following.—*Simhādri, Śarādhī* (2)

Kūduva-kūta (Assembly centres)

Only M gives the following.—*Kōta, Ananteśvara* (2)

Vāda Kūta (Centres of Disputation)

Only M gives the following :—*Śankaranārāyaṇa*.

S'aiva-Vaiṣṇava meeting place

Only M gives the following —*Krōdamandala* (op. cit. in Ch IV)

Smṛtikāraṇa of the 32 *Grāmas*

Only M gives the following —*Munnūrāya, Alevurāya, Uppārana, Kallurāya, Tāletāya, Udupa* (7)

Rājasthāna

Only B gives the following —*Bārakūru, Mangalūru, Kadaba, Honnāvūru*

Cāvudī

Ibid gives the following —*Kadarī, Kārkala*.

The same version B gives the following —*mannegaru Bhairava Bhārata maryādegala Bārakūru hallarige modalu nōṭavemba maryāde hiḍḍhaccaḍa maryāde Kōteśvarakke bandalli Kandāvaru māḍuva sanmāna Kelanāḍavaru hiḍḍa siddhāyada suttige*. (Some of these obsolete terms do not form intelligent matter B A S.)

Appendix C

ĀLUPA GENEALOGICAL TABLE

1. Āluv(k)a *circa* A.D. 450
⋮
2. Śrī Māramma Ālvarasar *circa* A.D. 575
|
3. Sakala Śrīmat Āluvarasar *circa* A.D. 600
|
4. Kundavarmanarasar (I) *circa* A.D. 625
|
5. Āluvarasar Gunasāgara *circa* A.D. 650
|
6. Citravāhana (I) A.D. 675–700
|
7. Ranasāgara *circa* A.D. 710–720
|
8. Śvetavāhana *circa* A.D. 720–730
|
9. Prthvisāgara Ālupendra *circa* A.D. 730–750
|
10. Vijayāditya Māramma *circa* A.D. 750–770
|
11. Citravāhana (II) A.D. 800
⋮
12. Kavi Vimalāditya (?) (Nṛpamallārāja)
⋮
13. Ālva Raṇaṇjaya A.D. 920–930
|

14. Dattālpendra Śrīmāra
A D. 959
- Eñjala Devī m. Cāgi
Śāntara
15. Kundavarमारasar (II) A D 967
- ⋮
16. Bankideva Ālupendradeva (I)
A D. 1050–1058 (1070)
m. Bīrabbarasi
- Mankabbarasi m.
Tālapa Deva
17. Udayāditya Pāndya Pattigadeva
Pattodeya A.D.
1070–1088 (1132 ?)
- Acala (Bucala) Devī
m. Biruga Vīra
Śāntara
18. Pāndya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi
Ālupendradeva A D. 1113–1155
m. Pāndya Mahādevī
19. Jagadevarasa A D. 1156–1170
20. Pāndya Cakravartin Vīra Kulasekhara Ālupendra (I)
A D. 1170–1275
m. Jākala Mahādevī
21. Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin A.D. 1216–1236
22. Vibudhavasū A.D. 1244–1254
23. Vīra Pāndyadeva Ālupendradeva (I) A.D. 1254–1267(1277)
m. Balla Mahādevī A.D. 1277

- 24 Nāgadevarasa A.D 1292-1299
m. Mocala Devī
- 25 Bankideva Ālupendradeva (II) A.D 1302-1315
26. Soyideva Ālupendradeva A.D. 1315 1335...
- 27 Vīra Kulaśekhara (II) A.D. 1335 (?) -1345
- 28 Vīra Pāndyadeva (II) A.D 1346 1366
- 29 Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva (III) A.D. 1366 1384 (1397)
30. Vīra Pāndyadeva (IV) A.D 1397-1436 (1441)
- 31 Vīra Kulaśekhara (IV) A.D 1441 1444

Unidentified Ālupa Kings

- 1 Kulaśekhara Ālupendra
2. Ālupa Kumāra Jayasingarasa

Minor Chieftains

1. Kāntappa Mārāluva *alias* Komṇa A.D. 1405
2. Dēvaṇṇarasa *alias* Komṇa A.D. 1524-1530
3. Mañjanna Komṇa Bhūpa (?)

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